Daily Report

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PDSh's Pashko on Political Situation, Elections

AU2201154691 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report on interview with opposition leader Gramoz Pashko by Raimund Loew; place and date not given]

[Text] Gramoz Pashko, 35, is an economic expert and a professor at Tirana University. He belongs to the small intellectual elite of Albania that already tried to break out of his country's self-imposed isolation under the long-time Albanian dictator Enver Hoxha. In Albania, one can watch Italian, Greek, and Yugoslav television programs, Pashko pointed out. In this way he informed himself about events in the world. Today he belongs to the leadership of the Democratic Party [PDSh] which, since December, has quickly turned into the first mass party of the opposition. The opening of the regime started as recently as six weeks ago.

Has the fear of the party and the state police disappeared among the people within this short period? This fear has more or less died, opposition leader Gramoz Pashko stressed. This applies primarily to the towns. We organize huge mass demonstrations there; 700,000 people have so far participated. This is 25 percent of the Albanian population. These people have lost their fear; however, fear still prevails among old people and in the countryside where most of the people live.

The opposition in Albania has meanwhile founded a paper, called DEMOCRATIC REBIRTH. It has a circulation of 60,000 and appears twice every week. The Ecological Movement, a smaller Republican Party, and a human rights forum are also active. Nowhere else in Europe have religious groups suffered from so much persecution as in Enver Hoxha's Albania. Muslims, Orthodox and Catholic Christians have united in a common religious party now. This is unique in the world. Money is being collected in the whole country for the reopening of churches and mosques.

The process of liberalization, however, is not very stable at this point. Gramoz Pashko fears that a bloody escalation might occur, like in Romania. The establishment is afraid of acts of revenge. There are very few people who were not linked with Enver Hoxha's regime in one way or another. Many functionaries are afraid of a reappraisal of this regime. There have been calls for revenge. Such calls have been heard at demonstrations and during the miners' strike.

The campaign for the first parliamentary elections on 31 March has started. Gramoz Pashko does not believe that there will be a transition of power. I do not think that the Communists will lose, but there will be a strong opposition. The opposition expects to achieve 40 percent of the vote and 80 to 100 seats in the future parliament. Gramoz Pashko does not share the disappointment that prevails among large parts of the Eastern European opposition.

[Begin Pashko recording] I am very optimistic. Otherwise I would not be here. Only a few among us are demoralized. When we struggled for the postponement of the elections, many young activists came and told us: Let us hold elections immediately. We will certainly win. Then we will get rid of the Communists once and for all. This is the mood among the opposition. [end recording]

PDSh's Berisha Gives Speech at Party Rally

AU2701220691 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 5 Jan 91 p 5

[Speech by Sali Berisha, member of the Initiating Commission of the Democratic Party, at a rally at the students' center in Tirana; date not given—"Our North Star—The National Cause"]

[Text] Brothers and sisters, citizens of Tirana, we have gathered at this free rally to celebrate the legalization of the Democratic Party [PDSh] and political pluralism in Albania. This festival is of truly enormous dimensions. Together with us today, our brothers in martyred Kosovo, who have suffered so much for mother Albania, also celebrate. The many millions of the Albanian diaspora, who have Albania as their eternal temple and the flag of Skenderbeg as their symbol, also rejoice and celebrate. Present with us and rejoicing is also the chorus of the nation's democratic thinkers, from the Albanian humanists of the European renaissance, to the illustrious representatives of our national rebirth, the architects of 1924, and the democrats of today. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of sons and daughters of the Albanian nation, who were sacrificed on the altar of freedom and democracy, have also arisen and are watching and listening to us today, all those who were sacrificed so Albania would be free and democratic and Albanians should be as they should be: true masters of themselves and their country. To express our respect and deep gratitude to them, let us all shout together: Honor and glory to all these martyrs to freedom and democracy! Long live mother Albania!

All democratic Europe and the international democratic public, friends and true well-wishers of the Albanian nation, also rejoice with us today. I therefore ask you to shout in thanks: We want to be like the rest of Europe! We have another joy today. A range of factors undoubtedly positively and powerfully influenced the establishment of political pluralism in Albania: the spirit of Helsinki and the struggle of our Kosovar brothers for freedom, democracy, and human rights; the Gorbachev factor and the changes in the world of the East. The truth is, however, that the Albanians achieved this great historical victory without anyone's intervention, relying on their ancient tradition of discussion and dialogue, whose North Star has always been the national cause. May this cause always guide us in solving the great problems which face us. The PDSh promises in front of you today that it will unflinchingly struggle to realize the democratic ideals and aspirations of the entire Albanian nation. It will struggle for Albanians, who are among the oldest peoples in civilized Europe, to enjoy in reality all

the freedoms and rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the Albanian state, the UN Charter, and the CSCE acts. It will struggle to enable Albania to revive its natural ties with genuine democracies, its true allies. It will struggle for a free, progressive, and democratic Albania, fully integrated in European processes, which will take her place like a lady of dignity at the gathering of other members of the family of Europe. The PDSh will unflinchingly struggle for our brothers in Kosovo to enjoy all their democratic rights and freedoms, including that of self-determination, which are sanctioned under the Yugoslav Constitution, the UN Charter, and the Helsinki acts. The PDSh cannot accept the division of the Albanian nation as eternal; therefore, it will struggle by peaceful means and within the context of the processes of integration in Europe to realize their rights for progress and national unity. The PDSh will secure all the constitutional rights for the minorities living in Albania as well as the rights stemming from international acts and agreements. It must be clear to us all, however, that the road of democracy is not a highway without obstacles. Kadare writes that a flower blooms in winter. Everyone's duty is, therefore, to protect this flower until spring comes, because it will then bloom throughout the country.

In the name of the PDSh, I have the honor to present the following demands before you:

First, the People's Assembly elections must be postponed until the beginning of May so free elections may be held in Albania in accordance with international standards. The electoral law must be changed, and the commission to draft the constitution and the Central Electoral Commission must be changed, because they were created by the ruling party and do not fit today's reality of political pluralism.

Second, the PDSh calls on democratic forces in Albania to protect the new democracy from the great dangers which threaten it, foremost among them the Albanian bureaucracy.

The bureaucrats, many of whom are worm eaten by their privileges, are ready in their total political blindness to tie the country's freedom and independence to their own armchairs. They are now devising a strategy of tension, and are fabricating schemes and drafting dark plans and diabolical traps.

The democratic processes in Albania are not a matter of a group of people; they are in fact the spirit of an age-old nation, before which Bolshevik and other dogmas evaporate like frost in sunlight. These processes involve the entire people, the entire nation, and the whole of Europe. Alas he who stands against them.

Brothers and sisters, another and no less dangerous enemy of democracy in Albania is the awakening of the demon of revenge and hatred that the enemies of our nation and of democracy wish to provoke. Nevertheless, I am fully convinced that their plans will miscarry. Our history shows that the Albanians are a nation of conciliation, and that where the national cause is concerned they pledge their word [besa] and staunch every wound, able to turn the destructive ferment of revenge, hatred, and fratricide into the virtues of conciliation, prudence, and national unity.

No Albanian must forget that throughout our difficult and painful history, it was mother Albania who suffered the worst pain; therefore, let us ease her pain, wipe away her tears, and think of her care and her milk. Long live mother Albania! The PDSh and all the democratic Albanian public think it necessary to draft and pursue a policy of national conciliation based on dialogue among all interested political forces and in accordance with recognized legal principles.

Long live democracy!
Long live the PDSh!

PRSh's Godo on Goals, Upcoming Elections

AU2601210791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Interview with Sabri Godo, chairman of the Initiating Commission of the Republican Party by Sokol Perihati; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Perihati] As as been reported, the Republican Party [PRSh] was legalized a short time ago. We talked to Sabri Godo, chairman of the Initiating Commission of the PRSh.

[Godo] Our program will be published within three days and will be distributed throughout the country. I think it is different from the programs of other parties in its essential points and in the solutions it offers for various issues that are presently the problems of our country and of the future. We intend to appear in the country's political life in dialogue with the people to the extent that the press, radio, and television will give us room. It seems that another method of work we could pursue is to hold meetings and conferences with the people, at which we will not only speak, but listen to people and their views about our party's program the political line we wish to follow and listen to what they think about economic and social problems which envelope this country. We, therefore, are not in favor of a demonstration of force or violence in any kind. This does not mean that we will be mild in our demands. We will determinedly demand the changes the country needs, and will be unswerving in this; however, it seems as if we must follow a way of solving problems that is suitable in the current situation, which seems extremely fraught with political tensions.

[Perihati] Can you tell us where you see a swift emergence from the serious economic situation in which our country finds itself today?

[Godo] We think that we must quickly attract foreign investors to our country, and obtain state credits. This

seems urgent to us; however, my impression is that there is presently more smoke than fire by which we can warm ourselves. This is understandable [words indistinct], because foreign investors hesitate to come here because they see us as a country in flux, an unstable country; however, when we achieve more political credibility in the world, they will come. In this connection, we have some views. We say that, as far as long-term agreements affecting the country's major interests are concerned, the People's Assembly and the Presidium of the People's Assembly must define to the government the limits to which they may extend, because the land and the country's other resources belong to the people and not to the government. We must be careful not to make agreements that may seem good and valuable today but may become a burden for future generations. It is necessary for us to enter into relations with foreign firms of whatever kind on equal conditions, to defend the interests of our workers, and not turn ourselves into a people of (?day-laborers) for foreign firms. I think there is some haste in this direction. Our many engineers and specialists who have been trained for so many decades can also not become secondary assistants to foreign firms. We all wish to announce that the road to Europe is a demand of the times, but it demands care and is not all that easy. We must proceed by training our work force, so our engineers and workers will be masters of their work and their country.

I would say that the more we hurry in this, and it really is an urgent need to attract foreign investors here, the more we must also take care in the steps we are taking in this direction. I think that we first need calm, strong nerves and a persistent dialogue for democracy—genuine democracy as the only institution which can defeat bureaucracy. We must also return to work. I have the impression that the coming agricultural year will perhaps be even more difficult than last year, because we are not working. Furthermore, if we go on dealing merely in words and meetings, the same will happen in industry too, and we must realize [words indistinct] that whatever foreign help and support we may given, it will not be decisive, and it will not be (?extended) again.

[Perihati] The People's Assembly elections have been set for 31 March. What does your party think about the period until then, and to what extent will it participate with its own candidates?

[Godo] We will try to field our representatives, our candidates for deputies, in every constituency. We do not know to what extent we will achieve this, because we are only now spreading our program among the people, we still need time to publish our newspaper, and only a very short time, two months, remains until the elections. This means that we can make no prediction, and we cannot say how we will really present ourselves in the elections [words indistinct]. It is our aim, however, to have deputies representing the PRSh in every constituency.

Need for 'Political Culture' Examined

AU2701164391 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Jan 91 p 3

[Fahri Balliu article: "Frankly...."]

[Text] Among friends, comrades, or new acquaintances, it is natural to talk, even heatedly, about the problems of political pluralism. Whenever those taking part in such conversations share the views of or sympathize with the newly created parties, it is normal for each to defend his own opinion. In putting a title to my article, however, I am thinking of that group of people that also includes different cadres of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] and various officials who, deep in their souls, political culture, and training, continue to think in the old way, and to whom it seems that what is happening in Albania has nothing to do with them. I would say that it is to the credit of every citizen, especially every communist, that it is the ruling party that is the initiator of the process of the country's democratization and of the historic triumph of political pluralism, and all the more so because the recently announced party program is another powerful weapon in the service of this idea. I think that the pace, methods, and answers implied by a multiparty system are elements in a new technique to scale new and higher peaks of democracy in the life of the people. The concern that has impelled me to write these lines is twofold, or rather, concerns two facts.

Talking with two friends about these issues of the day, it occurred to me to ask whether the National Theater would perform the play "Moonlit Night," a dramatization of the work of the writer Ismail Kadare. I later learned that "Moonlit Night" as well as the play based on episodes from "Who Escorted Doruntina?" will be staged, because it has become clear that this author's works are inviolable and are studied in school and elsewhere. It was precisely at this moment that one of those present at the conversation said, "So you are one of the democracy people!" (He meant the Democratic Party.) [PDSh] "I am not one of the democracy people," I replied, "but I am in favor of democracy and fight for it!"

Because he had failed to understand that political pluralism has not only brought new parties onto the political stage, but has renewed the ruling party, its political life, and propaganda, and has found new and up-to-date views and solutions, he immediately, in his political mediocrity, enrolled me in a different party, and ascribed a different viewpoint to me. The PPSh, however, is frank and sincere in its measures for the country's democratization and its struggle for democracy. No one who is a member or sympathizer can cling to the mentality of the past, and still less can he put spokes in the wheel that the party itself has begun to turn. Without a clear political culture, democratic morality and a free and independent spirit, you cannot realistically be a member of any party or support any kind of democracy. It is high time for us to accept the presence of all kinds of

sympathizers of other parties as natural, right, and human, and this calls for political culture. The lack of such culture leads some people to annoy those they talk to with labels of this kind, just as there are plenty of others who correctly understand the essence of the process of democratization. This is the main thing at this time.

A few days ago, a PPSh official, elected as a member of its forums, met three members of the PDSh Initiating Commission under the Tirana clock tower. He greeted them and talked to them about his worries, theirs, and those of the country. When they parted, people who knew this party official stared at him in amazement. One young sympathizer of the Democratic Party who did not know him said to him, "We will win."

"No doubt," said the official. "I say the PPSh will win."

"Why the PPSh?" asked the PDSh supporter. "Are you one of them?"

"Yes," the official replied.

"No!" the PDSh supporter said. "That is impossible. You embraced our party's leaders."

"Why not? I have known them for years as skilled people in their professions, and I consider them brothers in a common struggle for democracy."

"That is impossible. But.... Never mind whether you are with the PPSh," the young man said dubiously. "You have confused me completely."

There is indeed confusion, confusion and turmoil that leads to heated passions and excesses. It is therefore high time for us all to sustain, respect, and honor each person's aspirations for democracy with honesty and frankness and a spirit of truth which ignores meanness and conservative thinking, and not to pin labels on people, especially when they are distorted and undeserved. This means the struggle to democratize the country will be waged on a broad front, fast, and with calm, understanding, and peace.

Government Views Economic Situation, Labor Code

AU2501202191 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Government Spokesman Genc Kondi report—recorded]

[Text] At its meeting today, the Council of Ministers took into consideration the situation in the economy and the general situation of the country, and observed that the economic and hard currency situation is not good. The term serious was even used. The various measures proposed by the government to deal with this involve using the energies of every ministry, enterprise, and executive committee to overcome the situation at all costs by a specific deadline. This situation can be overcome through better labor discipline, especially in those enterprises whose problems relate solely to the supply of raw materials. An explicit deadline of 15 February was given for stabilizing the situation and returning to normal productivity in both enterprises and in rural cooperatives. It was stressed that those enterprises whose problems have mainly related to the supply of raw materials will continue to pay workers 80 percent of their wages, or will allocate them to other work, because it has been noticed that there are cases of enterprises not paying this 80 percent. It was said that the ministries themselves will inspect this.

As for the supply of vital foodstuffs to the people such as vegetables, milk, eggs, sugar, rice, fats, bread, macaroni, etc., the government observed that there are marked anomalies on the market that have resulted from a fall in agricultural production and also from shortcomings in the work of retail organizations, including the foreign trade organizations.

It was again said that the general guidelines for the first quarter of the year have been guaranteed, and the situation can be stabilized by 15 February.

At the end of the meeting, various draft decisions or decrees were considered, which, to mention the most important, included the consideration of a draft decree sent for approval by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, which concerns certain changes in the Labor Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. In essence, this draft decree, after its approval, will provide more authority for the managements of enterprises and institutions to tighten labor discipline. Among other things, it abolishes the role the trade unions have had up until now in deciding the appeals of workers subjected to disciplinary measures by the enterprise. From now on, this right will belong only to the district or regional court.

Economic Problems, 25-30 Percent Inflation Viewed

AU2601203391 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Interview with Fatos Nano, general secretary to the Council of Ministers, by (?Hasan Durashi); place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Nano] The government, on the basis of decisions that have been approved, is making stronger efforts to preserve the stability of people's lives and their work, even financing to a significant extent—80 percent of wages—those sectors that are objectively faced with difficulties in providing regular work. From the economic point of view, this is an intervention that costs dearly. Presently, about 80,000 workers in different sectors of particular importance to the economy and the supply of the market, such as the light industry, the food industry, heavy industry, the engineering industry to a certain extent, etc., are being paid 80 percent of their average wages. Of course, if this situation continues for a

long time, there will be significant inflationary consequences for the economy. I wish to stress that inflation, which has become a sensitive issue for our people, must be correctly understood, because it genuinely exists in terms of the total amount of money in circulation, and is not less than 25-30 percent. [passage omitted]

Cultural, Education Agreements Signed With PRC

AU2601194291 Tirana ATA in English 1018 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Tirana, January 26 (ATA)—The agreement on cooperation in the field of culture, education and science between the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the PR [People's Republic] of China was signed in Beijing.

Likewise, the agreement on cooperation between the radio-television of the PSR of Albania and the radio-television of the PR of China was signed. For the Albanian party, the agreements were signed by the foreign minister Reis Malile, whereas for the Chinese party by the ministers He Jingzhi and Ai Zhisheng respectively.

Attending the signing ceremony were the members of both delegations.

During his stay in China, the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile and the members of the Albanian delegation, met in Beijing with the minister of economic relations and foreign trade of the PR of China, Li Lanqing.

During the meeting, which was conducted in a friendly atmosphere, they talked on the satisfactory development of trade between Albania and China and they agreed on the increase of the volume of exchanges in the future.

Likewise, the Albanian delegation headed by the foreign minister, Reis Malile, met also with China's minister of culture, He Jingzhi.

Present in these meetings was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Beijing, Justin Papajorgji.

SFRY Border Authorities Hand Over 'Terrorists'

AU2301213491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Isuf Baca, spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, reported that the Yugoslav border authorities handed over at the Han i Hotit border point on 23 January the terrorists [name indistinct], (?Ardian Vila), and (?Idriz Dule), who on 9 January this year fired on the guard of the [place name indistinct] border post in Tropoje, and killed the border guards Gezim Hoti and Bujar Cela. The terrorists have been handed over to the organs of justice.

National Radical Party Supports Iraq

AU2501170691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Jan 91 p 2

[Text] Last night the Bulgarian Television, in its program called "Around the World and at Home" carried an interview with Dr. Ivan Georgiev, chairman of the Bulgarian National Radical Party, who confirmed that his party supports Saddam Husayn and justified this stand by describing the Americans as aggressors who defend their economic interests. The National Radical Party supports the Iraqi people because of their ethnic and historical rights related to Kuwait. Dr. Georgiev explained his argument by pointing out that compared with the situation in the Balkans it would be the same as if a U.S. armada attacked the Bulgarians should they claim to restore some injustice, such as that concerning the historical Macedonian, or Western border territories.

Social Democratic Party Supports Gulf Actions

AU2701161991 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 18 Jan 91 p 1

[Declaration of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party on the Persian Gulf conflict; place and date not given]

[Text] The Social Democrats are consistent supporters of peace, but for us freedom has always stood higher than peace. We stand for the liberty of the individual and for the liberty of each individual people.

The aggression of the dictator Saddam Husayn against the sovereign state of Kuwait, accompanied by genocide committed on a small people, arouses bitter recollections of a series of events in the recent European past.

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] strongly supports the UN resolutions and the ensuing decisive military actions by the coalition to liberate occupied Kuwait and bring peace to the region.

Men and women of freedom, we categorically support your historic mission, through difficulties and sacrifices, to the noble goal. Our thoughts, love, and faith go with you.

Signed:
BSDP Executive Council,
BSDP Parliamentary Group.

Army Daily Attacks Censure of Moscow's Actions

AU2801114291 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Jan 91 p 1

[Captain Ivan Genov commentary: "Great Day of Judgment"]

[Text] The declarations and judgments are as numerous as the parties and factions. They are motivated by the events in Vilnius. A Bulgarian member of the legislature wants it to cancel the treaties between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, without making us happy with new treaties for petroleum, coal, and the other raw materials we need for the winter. Another member suggests we send volunteers to fight in Lithuania. The expenses will probably be reckoned in transferable rubles, and this after we failed to find the hard currency for the campaign in the Arabian desert. A third calls upon Gorbachev, who has transformed into a new Saddam, to return his Nobel Prize. He has already donated the money-equivalent of the prize to an orphanage. A trade union with rich street experience issues an ultimatum that it will review its relations with the government if the latter fails to condemn Moscow. How many judges there are!

Yet do we really know what exactly is happening in Lithuania? In censuring "the barbaric aggression of the Soviet occupiers," how sure are we which side is good and which evil? We should ask ourselves what the consequences would be of a direct clash between the "Sajudis" local national front and the ethnic Russian National Salvation Committee had the Army not been present to act as a buffer. It might have led to a new Sumgait, to new bloody extremist excesses. The popular television journalist Aleksandr Nevzorov, who can hardly be suspected of sympathies for the conservatives, posed this question in his "600 Seconds" program and asked for the truth about Lithuania. This earned him a death sentence from "Sajudis"—the organization that brought Landsbergis to power....

In Georgia, multiparty democratic elections were recently held, and the man who until then had led the opposition was elected president. The situation in South Ossetia has come to a head. After the security forces of the central government started to withdraw from the zone of conflict, at the insistence of the Tbilisi regime, units of the Georgian militia and armed nationalist formations began to move in to take their place. The latter, according to NOVOSTI, "immediately established a regime of terror and violence." By 10 January, 19 people had been killed and 45 wounded. This led to no gatherings of enraged self-appointed judges outside the Soviet Embassy in Sofia and the Soviet consulates throughout the country.

A little earlier, the noncommunist Moldovan regime in Kishenev sent punitive detachments to pacify the Russian-speaking Dniester Republic [Pridnestrovska republika]. Along the way, these detachments stormed through several Bulgarian villages, using physical violence on the people, as described by a Bessarabian Bulgarian at a news conference in Sofia. It is amazing how our ever wakeful conscience remained silent in the face of these outrages, committed moreover against our compatriots. If we really want to judge things according to our conscience, let us do it consistently, and not selectively, because every case of violence deserves condemnation. Otherwise the impression is created of some clumsy play director: Because we had no "Prague Spring," let us now judge "the tyrannical Moscow regime," whose "tanks laid waste the green parks of Vilnius." It is of no consequence that at the moment the ground in Vilnius is

covered by almost half a meter of snow, nor that the tanks perhaps acted as a fire brigade that extinguished the first flames of an interethnic conflagration that might have unforeseeable consequences, the main thing is to pass judgment.

Things are far from being so simple, which is the main idea expressed by President Zhelev in the interview he gave to the journal EKHO PLANETY. If Moscow can be justly accused of unforgivable delay in settling relations within the Soviet Union and of impermissible use of military force, then Vilnius also deserves just censure for its unwillingness to conduct a dialogue, its discrimination against the Russian-speaking population, and other associated actions which added fat to the fire. Accordingly, before passing judgment, let us try to be just a little more objective

Poll Shows Disapproval of Soviet Acts in Baltics

AU2601211491 Sofia BTA in English 2028 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—The results of a poll announced on TV this evening show that 66 per cent of the respondents disapprove of the Soviet military intervention in Lithuania. 26 per cent have no opinion on the matter.

The question is a part of the monthly poll conducted by the National Center for Public Opinion Research.

The same poll shows that if elections were held now, 36 per cent of the respondents would vote for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and 26 per cent would vote for the BSP. The most interesting in the result is that the percentage of those willing to vote for another party is growing.

The per cent of approval of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) is apparently growing while there is no significant change in the positions of the other political forces.

Most of the supporters of the SDS are in Sofia, the region of Sofia and the region of Plovdiv.

Among political leaders President Zhelyu Zhelev is topping the list although the tendency of some fall of his rating which started in October is still visible. He is also on top of the list of candidates for the future presidential elections.

The respondents explicitly disapprove of direct voting in the presidential elections—84 per cent.

The newcomers in the cabinet: Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and Deputy Prime Ministers Dimitur Ludzhev and Aleksandur Tomov have also gained popularity. Dimitur Popov is supported by 40 per cent of the respondents for the prime minister's post in a possible future cabinet.

High again is the prestige of the presidential institution.

The prestige of the government has grown sharply.

The results of the poll show that conditions are favourable for action. Over 30 per cent of the respondents say they approve of the rise of prices, associating it with the availability of more goods in the stores.

BSP Members' Reregistration Assessed

AU2501180091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Jan p 1

[Dora Chichkova report: "The End of January is not the Final Deadline for Joining the Bulgarian Socialist Party"]

[Text] The restoration of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's [BSP] organizational structure that accompanies the process of reregistration is a considerable political success, Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council and coordinating secretary, announced at yesterday's meeting with the party's nationwide aktiv.

Ten days prior to the formal end of the campaign for the renewal of party membership documents, the number of Socialists who obtained new membership cards exceeded 441,000. Naturally, the doors of the BSP will not be closed after this deadline has expired, but the relevant analyses will be made on the basis of the results obtained in the meantime.

The participants in the meeting exchanged opinions on the country's political situation, on the party's strategy concerning the upcoming elections and the technical details of the election campaign. Aleskandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, stated as follows: "We must correctly time our efforts and nominate learned figures as candidates for our party."

Numerous chairmen of the municipal party councils who took the floor stated that the people in their areas would prefer to vote for individual personalities and not for party tickets, which means that they support the majority election system. Some speakers also supported arguments in favor of specific municipal platforms for the local elections, instead of adopting an all-party program.

Socialists in the areas where ethnic problems prevail are increasingly concerned about the situation, Stefan Stefanov, chairman of the Municipal BSP Council in Kurdzhali, stated. He pointed out certain facts that confirm the urgent need to work out the specific principled stand of the BSP on the nationality issue.

BSP Establishes Election Campaign Fund

AU2501172091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Jan 91 p 1

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council announces to all BSP members, supporters, and to all those who cherish the socialist idea, that an "Election Campaign Fund" has been established.

Contributions should be paid into the following bank accounts of the BSP Supreme Council: Account No. 421 111 655 004-2 at the Sofia Trade Bank for contributions in leva and into Account No. 428 911 3009 at the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank for contributions in foreign currency.

Please add the words: "Election Campaign Fund."

BSP Council Discusses Draft Constitution

AU2701180991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Jan 91 p 1

[Vasil Popov report on opening session of Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council on 21 January in Sofia]

[Text] If this draft constitution is adopted, it will bring Bulgaria closer to the modern democracies, stated Georgi Bliznashki, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. He said this in the introductory speech with which he opened the session of the BSP Supreme Council held on 21 January to discuss the BSP's draft constitution for the Republic of Bulgaria.

The draft constitution foresees the evolution of a free civic society in which the creative initiative of the individual is combined with the state's interests. The draft stresses the country's republican nature and guarantees Bulgaria's development as a democratic social state based on the rule of law. The three forms of power are independent, ensuring the sovereignty of the people. The division of powers is not regarded as an absolute concept, but is legally defined in a modern manner. The texts of the articles describe the country as a united and indivisible republic, stressing its parliamentary character.

The draft constitution takes into account all the international acts that Bulgaria is a party to. The experience of other democratic states in Europe is also borne in mind, said Bliznashki. In his view, one of the many new features is the chance given to citizens of displaying legislative initiative by submitting draft laws to the national assembly. The draft contains a provision for direct election of the president, without encroaching upon the parliamentary form of government.

Before discussing the draft constitution, the BSP Supreme Council adopted a declaration in connection with the war in the Middle East.

The BSP Supreme Council decided before the end of February 1991 to adopt views on the main problems that the national assembly has to examine: the land law, the issue of political responsibility and specific guilt connected with the abuses committed in the recent past, community policy, privatization, and relations with the trade union organizations.

Evidence Implicates 30 MP's as Informers

AU2501145491 Sofia BTA in English 1153 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on the MPs' secret police records has information about the members of the Grand National Assembly who served as informers of State Security Department Six (the political police), Mr. Georgi Tambuev MP of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], chairman of the commission, said in parliament yesterday. He declined to elaborate. Mr. Tambuev specified for the BTA that about eight per cent of the 400 MP's (that is, some 30 people) were involved.

Mr. Rumen Danov MP of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], deputy chairman of the commission, told parliament that the commission has not yet obtained information about the informers working for the Department Six division which monitored BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] members.

Secret Police Sixth Department Archives Missing

AU2801102791 Sofia BTA in English 0924 GMT 28 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 28 (BTA)—The Secret Services seem to have done a good job; a very good job indeed, and now they're putting on a modest air, the deputy chairman of the parliamentary commission of enquiry investigating the records of the national representatives, Mr. Rumen Danov, told DEMOKRATSIYA in an interview published today.

According to last week's information the informers of the former Department 6 of the State Security engaged in persecuting dissidents are thirty two, or eight percent of the national representatives in the present Grand National Assembly.

But Mr. Danov explicitly underlined that the documents related to the activity of Department 6 are missing from the State Security archives. The department spied on Communists, high ranking party cadres and on the so-called "active fighters against fascism and capitalism". Who, when and by whose order the documents were taken away is not known. He went on to say that the commission of enquiry was yet to investigate the case.

Mr. Danov said that the decision as to the consequences for the former informers of Department 6 in the Bulgarian Parliament would be lies within the competence of the Parliamentary Bureau, the leaderships of the National Security Commission and the commission investigating the records of the national representatives, the president and the vice president.

On the whole the informers of Department 6 are elderly people Mr. Danov said, but he did not want to go into further details. "The information we have received is far from being complete. Too many people were involved in servicing the system," he stated.

Reportage on 'Marxist Alternative' Movement

Yankov Dismissed as Leader

AU2801142991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Jan 91 p 2

[Vasil Popov report: "Vote of No Confidence in Mitryu Yankov by the 'Marxist Alternative' Conference"]

[Excerpts] Professor Mitryu Yankov has been dismissed from his post as chairman of the Coordinating Council of the "Marxist Alternative" Movement, which is part of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The Council confirmed Rumyana Modeva as member of the BSP Supreme Council. These are the two major items of the political resolution adopted at yesterday's extraordinary national conference of the movement.

The members attending decided that the further leadership should be entrusted to a Provisional National Council with the following five cochairmen: Stoil Kratachev, Rayko Raykov, Nako Stefanov, Nikola Nikolov, and Mikhail Radonov. Their main task should be to prepare and hold the regular accountability-election conference of the movement.

Under the slogan: "Faithful To the Ideas—Unity of All Generations" some speakers declared that the opponents of Marxism are trying to make it doctrinaire and reject an idea that was initiated by Tommaso Campanella. If the BSP should pursue its policy of compromise, which it is constantly practicing, it will perish, Professor Stoil Karatanchev said.

Rumyana Modeva pointed out the following: The current events in Bulgaria are part of the United States' strategic plan to deprive our country of its sovereignty. Not only has social injustice increased in our country, but a restoration of the exploitation system is underway. Democracy has been subject to "blue" [color of the opposition parties] totalitarianism and the country seems to be deprived of patriots today, she added. [passage omitted]

According to Rumyana Modeva, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is already torn by internal controversies and if the BSP should proceed along the same path, only one major force, namely Ahmed Dogan's Movement for Rights and Freedoms, will remain, which is likely to accelerate our country's progress toward the Bosphorus. [passage omitted]

Professor Mitryu Yankov was subject to sharp criticism for an article he recently published in the daily DUMA. He was also criticized for arbitrarily dismissing, or recruiting leadership members of the movement and for applying gross, autocratic methods of leadership. Professor Yankov did not attend the conference. [passage omitted]

Conference Ruled Unlawful

AU2801143191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Jan 91 p 2

[Text] The Executive Bureau of the "Marxist Alternative" Coordinating Council considers that the meeting organized by the so-called "initiative group" and held on 19 January 1991, which was announced as an extraordinary conference of the movement, is illegitimate because it proceeded in contradiction with the movement's statute and platform.

A letter signed by Chief Secretary Marcho Markov and Organizational Secretary Khristo Malchev points out that the meeting did not express the will of all members and supporters from all over the country.

The meeting showed that the majority of those attending it are supporters of a different ideological and political platform, the document further states. It not only fails to contribute to the consolidation of the leftwing forces' unity, but promotes the split and weakening of the oldest leftwing Marxist movement within the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the letter stress.

It is also emphasized in the letter that the "Marxist Alternative" considers all decisions adopted at the aforementioned meeting as invalid. The movement was established at the end of 1989; the Coordinating Council elected at the Third National Conference on 14 July 1990 and chaired by Mitryu Yankov is the only legitimate leadership of the movement.

Government Adopts 1991 Budget Bill

AU2701194091 Sofia BTA in English 1827 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 27 (BTA)—The Press Center with the Council of Ministers announced that today the cabinet has discussed the draft for the state budget of Bulgaria for 1991 and has adopted it in principle. It is expected to be introduced in parliament before the end of the month.

The budget corresponds to the principles of the economic reform. It observes the major conditions recommended by the International Monetary Fund. The budget deficit is within the determined limit of 4.9 percent of the gross national product. It is not provided to cover the deficit by foreign loans. There are significant cuts of the expenses. There is a tendency towards change of prices and rise of incomes from the beginning of February.

The changes in the state budget require additional changes in the financial and bank regulations.

A commission will be established to seek for additional sources for decreasing the budget outlets for the administration.

The Council of Ministers discussed and adopted in principle the proposal for changes in the foreign currency regulations.

Government Approves Changes in Interest Rates

AU2801112891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Jan 91 pp 1,2

[Dimitrana Aleksandrova report]

[Excerpts] On 18 January, the Bulgarian Government decided that the interest rates on credits and deposits will be negotiated between the banks and the debtors or depositors on a market basis, in relation to the base interest rate and other interest levels, and added a new regulation to its decree.

"We have made the leap and are already in the air," declared Finance Minister Ivan Kostov after the meeting. "This is the start of the radical change in the economy and a first step toward normalizing the money and credit markets."

A new base interest rate of 15 percent is established for credits in leva issued by the Bulgarian National Bank for refinancing the commercial banks.

The maximum interest rate on fixed term money deposits is 12 percent. This is aimed at limiting the effect of inflation and regulating the redistribution of citizens' deposits between the State Savings Bank and the commercial banks.

Interest on indefinite term deposits will be paid only to the population, in order to create incentives for saving and keep money in the banks.

The maximum interest rate on citizens' savings accounts for housing is eight percent. According to the minister, it is necessary to fix a maximum rate because this makes it possible to establish relatively lower interest rate levels on loans for building and buying housing.

These maximum interest rates are temporary, and are to be repealed after a certain period.

The above are the main regulations adopted by the government on money and credit relations. [passage omitted]

The Council of Ministers proposes that the interest rate on the outstanding portion of credits taken out for building and purchasing houses should be equal to two-thirds of the base interest rate in force during the relevant period. This means that when the base interest rate is 15 percent, citizens must pay 10 percent interest on their old loans. [passage omitted]

Bulgarian citizens have obtained 6.5 billion leva of credits from the State Savings Bank at relatively low interest rates, determined by purely administrative means. These rates are two percent for building and seven percent for purchase.

Until 30 April, citizens who have received credits for building or purchasing houses or for consumer needs and who manage to repay the outstanding portion of their loans ahead of time have the privilege of retaining the old interest rates.

Minister Kostov expects that a large number of the debtors will manage to repay their loans.

In addition, the government decree states that the ministers of finance and labor and social security are instructed by 15 February to submit a proposal on the procedure for assisting persons who become insolvent because of the rise in interest rates. This primarily concerns the socially underprivileged and pensioners. The assessment will be made together with the municipal people's councils. According to Minister Kostov, it will be very precise and there is no danger of anyone obtaining an unjustified advantage. [passage omitted]

Sofia Mayor Karakachanov on Rationing System

AU2801110691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Jan 91 pp 1,2

[Atanas N. Atanasov report: "As of February 1991, Sofia Citizens Will Be Provided With New Rationing Documents and Consumer Cards Replacing the Current Rationing Cards"]

[Excerpts] Sofia Mayor Aleksandur Karakachanov declared in his weekly Saturday news conference at the "Moscow" Hotel Television Center that Sofia citizens will be provided with rationing cards for basic foodstuffs and consumer goods as of February 1991. Other leading officials from the Sofia City Council also answered journalists' questions.

Mr. Karakachanov stated: Rationing cards are introduced only in Sofia. We realize that what we are doing is not very pleasant, but it is necessary.

Krasimir Angelov, secretary of the Commission on Social Activities, explained that the new system of introducing so-called consumer cards is an improvement because it authorizes every Sofia citizen to purchase basic foodstuffs in given stores situated in his own district. [passage omitted]

One of the basic reasons for the current food shortage is the fact that the rumors about price increases have been circulating for a long time, but have not yet been enforced, Mr. Angelov added. Actually, the producers, though struggling with certain problems, are deliberately holding off the delivery of goods because they are awaiting the new prices. In addition to this, large quantities of goods were exported from Sofia, or from the country as a whole.

Mr. Karakachanov stated that it is our objective to transform the municipal councils into self-governing communities, because for the time being the Sofia City Council is virtually a tool of the Council of Ministers.

The Interim Executive council has no clearly defined functions in the power structures. The Council of Ministers is entitled to take possession of any building belonging to the city, it determines the budget of the Sofia City Council, and so forth. [passage omitted]

New Agriculture Minister on Problems, Tasks

AU2801144791 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 22 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Boris Spirov, minister of agriculture and the food industry, by Andon Cheshmedzhiev; place and date not given: "My Hopes Lie in the Land Law and Private Ownership!"]

[Excerpts] [Cheshmedzhiev] Both for you and for the government, the first month since your entry into office has elapsed. In politics, this is called the honeymoon month. Is this an apposite description in your case?

[Spirov] Judge for yourself. The desperate plight we have reached in agriculture and in the country as a whole has been evident for a long time. There are some countries with larger foreign debts than ours, but none of them is in a more tragic situation, because most of them introduced a market economy long ago, so that they do not have to totally reorganize their economies. Some of them, like Brazil for example, possess immense resources. My hopes lie in the land law and in the restoration of private ownership. I stress this, because there is much speculation connected with certain vague definitions. The land must be restored to its former owners, to those who were accused of being kulaks and enemies of the people because they knew how to work well and amass money.... As for what we have managed to do in a month, it is of course not very much:

—Because it was impossible to provide sufficient animal feed for the large animal farm complexes, we attempted to persuade their leaders to hand over as many animals as possible to private farmers.

—We opened a few of the valves on the boiler that we call the animal feed problem, which was under immense pressure, even though the danger is far from over. We arranged the delivery of 100,000 tonnes of grain from France. Austria agreed to supply a further 100,000 tonnes, but we are unable to pay the shipment costs. Paradoxical as it may seem, we will have to meet these costs by giving up some of the grain.

—We ensured the import of soya meal from Argentina.

—Agreement was reached on exporting 3,200 tonnes of lamb meat to the EC countries. I hasten to reassure those waiting in the long lineups outside the empty stores that in return for this we will import an equivalent amount of meat (not lamb), and will obtain additional money for feed and feed ingredients from the difference in price. [passage omitted]

[Cheshmedzhiev] From all you have said so far, one may reach the conclusion that the Bulgarian consumer's shopping basket will not be filled for some time.

[Spirov] I believe that the forthcoming freeing of prices, which will eliminate the present abnormal situation (in which one kilogram of meat, for example, costs less that the feed needed to produce it), will release certain reserves that we have available at the moment. During the last few days there have been immense problems with supplying the large towns with milk, because the producer, in expectation of the new prices, prefers to turn it into less perishable products like white and yellow cheese. The same situation also applies to other food products.

[Cheshmedzhiev] In this grave situation, what can you say about future prospects?

[Spirov] I repeat: The prospects are primarily connected with the adoption of the land law. Agriculture was more heavily exploited than any other sector of the economy. It gave a great deal to industry, and provided foreign currency for the needs of production that were completely senseless. Now the truth has once again come to light that Bulgaria's export possibilities are mainly connected with agriculture and the food industry. This is not very cheerful news, but it is true, and should make us realize where our place lies, and what efforts and attention should be directed toward this sector. Today is the final deadline, the last opportunity for us to help our agriculture. To operate at full power, the people must believe that the end of the period of lawlessness has come.

National Assembly Ratifies Conventions

AU2501223391 Sofia BTA in English 2124 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian Parliament ratified four conventions on the conservation of architectural heritage in Europe (1985), the European Convention for the Conservation of Architectural Heritage (1969), the European Convention on the Exchange of Information in the Field of Law (1968) and the 1978 Protocol on the Protection of Wildlife in Europe.

In support of their ratification it was pointed out that this act is in line with the decision of parliament on Bulgaria's integration with the European political and economic structures and with the country's desire to become a full member of the Council of Europe.

The ratification of the conventions does not contravene the country's Constitution.

The Convention on the Protection of Wildlife was ratified with a reservation. Bulgaria reserves her right not to apply it with regard to the species which need no protection in her territory, because their populations are strong in numbers.

New Social Democratic Groups Established

AU2501212991 Sofia BTA in English 2052 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—Today a new group was formed as part of the parliamentary faction of the Socialists 17 Socialist members of parliament declared the foundation of their "Europe" Social Democratic Platform. Their goal is the assertion of a social democratic style of behavior in parliament and in society in general. The platform will act as an autonomous association within the parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

It is pointed out in the constituent declaration of the new group that the platform is a natural expression of the ideological tendencies in the BSP which gravitate to social democracy.

The members of the platform will seek unity of action with all Socialist parliamentarians when important problems of principle are concerned, but at the same time they reserve their right to have opinions, positions and initiatives of their own.

The platform is taking steps to get registered as a parliamentary group.

The "Europe" Social Democratic Platform was set up by some members of parliament, who a certain time ago declared themselves to be radicals, and by their colleagues, who formed a National Salvation Group several months ago.

Today, when the existence of the "Europe" Social Democratic Platform was proclaimed, it became known that in actual fact it was set up on January 23, but none of its members explained why it had been kept secret until now. Judging by yesterday's vote as a result of which former Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov was elected chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee, the opinion of the newly established group coincides with that of the other deputies from the BSP.

Some of the more popular names in the group are former Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov; Boyko Kostov, the son of Traycho Kostov who was sentenced to death on trumped-up charges by the Stalinist regime in Bulgaria in the 1950's; Academician Azarya Polikarov; Dragomir Draganov, a history associate professor; Petur Emil Manev, leader of the BSP "Road to Europe" Platform; writer Rudenko Yordanov; Economist Rumen Georgiev; Elena Poptodorova.

The 17 M.P's declare in their platform that they do not pretend to have a monopoly on the social democratic idea, but at the same time they consider that other parties should not try to monopolize it, thus alluding to Petur Dertliev's Social Democratic Party (a member of the Union of Democratic Forces).

National Assembly Asks For Foreign Workers Data

AU2501182291 Sofia BTA in English 1702 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The parliament adopted a resolution today obliging the government to provide information on the number, nationality and place of work of the foreign workers in Bulgaria and the minister of labor and social welfare and the minister of the interior to provide information on the precise number and the names of their employers and the legal grounds of the contracts concluded with foreign workers.

This resolution was motioned by the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] but the parliamentary majority of the opposition rejected the demand of the opposition to include a special point obliging the government to provide a special report on the number and the legal grounds of the recently signed labor contracts with Soviet citizens.

The appointment of Soviet workers in some Bulgarian enterprises was signalled by a representative of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation in a TV broadcast on January 20. At a regular briefing of the UDF [SDS] on the following day the question was raised once again foreign workers were being appointed when the number of unemployed in Bulgaria was growing. Correspondences from Vidin, published in the press this week, confirmed that Soviet workers had recently arrived in this Danubian city but they were to work in an enterprise in which Bulgarians did not wish to take the vacant jobs.

Over the last few days the issue of the arrival of Russians in Bulgaria was linked with the events in the Baltics. Last night in parliament Mr. Yanko Yankov, M.P. of the Liberal Congress Party, asked whether these workers were not "berets". He told a BTA reporter today that the "workers" who had arrived did not have the necessary qualification and that they were sent from the Tula armaments factory. Mr. Yankov said that it is strange that no one in the city knew in advance about the arrival of the Soviet citizens and that there was no intergovernmental agreement.

Defense Minister: No Fear of Army Intervention

AU2601194391 Sofia BTA in English 1824 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—"The Bulgarian Army is a guarantee for the democratic processes in the country," states Minister of Defence General Mutafchiev in an interview for "DEMOKRATSIYA." The fact that there are problems in the Soviet Union gives no grounds for analogies. It is pointless to fear that the Army will interfere to turn the events back, the minister says.

According to him, the Bulgarian Army is well armed, well trained and ready to defend the country's interests.

He points out in the interview that after the breakup of the military structures of the Warsaw Treaty the only guarantee for the country's national security will be its well-balanced, flexible and reasonable foreign policy and its own defence capacity. General Mutafchiev believes that the major guarantee for our security is Bulgaria's participation in the structures of general security which are being created in Europe. Another new point is the improvement of Bulgaria's relations with its neighbour countries: Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and Romania. "The long-existing confrontation with Turkey was certainly no contribution to our security, and, in general, the terms "enemy" and "potential antagonist" now belong to the past. We are neighbours and we must treat each other like neighbours," the Bulgarian defence minister points out.

At present there are 75 combatant generals. 78 generals retired last year. The country's military budget has also been reduced in the recent years. Practically half of the Bulgarian Army is professional, counting the officers and the sergeants. The share of the professionals is increased by the shortening of the army service. Mr. Mutafchiev shows understanding as regards the alternative military service as long as the needs of the Army are satisfied. He is against the purchase of exemption.

The minister of the defence believes that the creation of the "Rakovski" Legion which was established last year is quite natural and he himself approves of it. "We acknowledge the legion's independence, but keep in mind that the principle of undivided authority is irrevocable in the Army," General Mutafchiev explains.

Political Council Reviews Language, Ethnic Issue

AU2501144491 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1210 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] We have just received a report on a meeting of the Political Consultative Council with the participation of President Doctor Zhelyu Zhelev; Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev; the Grand National Assembly leadership; delegates of the political forces represented in the national assembly; Prime Minister Dimtur Popov; Aleksandur Tomov and Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; and ministers.

They discussed the situation in areas with mixed ethnic population on which Khristo Danov, minister of internal affairs, read a report.

The greatest attention was devoted to problems connected with the Turkish language lessons for Bulgarian citizens who consider this language their mother tongue.

None of the political forces objected to the fact that the study of the Turkish language is a constitutional right and it was agreed that Turkish language lessons should take place under [word indistinct], that they should be based on Bulgarian textbooks, and be conducted by Bulgarian teachers in Bulgarian schools under the supervision of the state.

Dimitur Arnaudov, representative of the Fatherland Party of Labor, expressed his party's view that Turkish language lessons should take place outside the public schools.

The question of when the Turkish language lessons should be introduced and whether their introduction is likely to provoke increased tension in the country remained unresolved.

Agreement was reached that the Parliamentary Commission on the National Question should examine each individual incident that has been reported.

It was agreed to establish a special group under the leadership of Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, in charge of drafting the text of a political agreeement of the parliamentary political forces, on the basis of which they should commit themselves to promote a favorable social atmosphere.

Havel Comments on Gulf, Baltic, USSR

LD2701180191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1325 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Jiri Vejvoda at Lany Castle; date not given: "Conversation at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Vejvoda] Mr. President, I welcome you to the microphone after another week. During this week, unfortunately, one key problem in the world has not altered, indeed it has developed further. Those who thought that the Gulf war might be over in a few hours are naturally disappointed, because the conflict has blazed up into an ongoing affair; because our country also has some of its citizens there, I again ask you to begin today's interview with a comment on that matter.

[Havel] I do not think there is really much point in me commenting on individual reports coming from the battlefield; we are all watching CNN, we all know what is happening there. Instead I would like to talk about one of the wider aspects. We have stressed on several occasions that this is a matter of principle, of standing up to an evil that is threatening the whole globe, and we have said this in arguments with those who say: This is a long way away, it does not affect us, why are we getting mixed up in it, we have enough problems of our own. It seems to me that the events of the last week confirm that this is, indeed, a global threat, a threat to the human race and not merely a local conflict between two adversaries.

Let us realize that Saddam Husayn has also begun firing missiles at Israel for no practical reason whatsoever. This is simply a great provocation with all kinds of political objectives, and it is now the second country he has attacked. We have also seen on TV the horrifying pictures of the oil that he has released into the Persian Gulf, we have seen the oilfields ablaze. These are things which really affect everyone, which affect life on this globe, no one can remain impassive to it, and it once again confirms how important it is to stand up to this fanatic from the start before it is too late. It seems to me that this merely shows once again the significance of the fact that Czechoslovakia is involved in this resistance, it shows the importance of our unit, and it confirms, in fact, that the decision to take part in this way in the international community's campaign was right.

[Vejvoda] Perhaps it would do no harm to emphasize once again that, following that decision, the unit, which no doubt you also often think of, went to the focal point of the hostilities voluntarily.

[Havel] If my understanding is correct, the unit has, indeed, found itself in the focal point of the hostilities, because the lines behind which the unit is deployed have begun to come under fire. Every day, of course, I dread the report from the minister of defense in case anyone has been hurt; fortunately this has not been the case so far, if we do not count the one soldier who died as a result of an accident. Naturally we are all watching the situation tensely and nervously, but nonetheless it is already absolutely clear today that if, God forbid, anyone were to die, then he would have died in a battle for a just cause.

[Vejvoda] It seems that the new year 1991 began with hardship also in other parts of the world—for instance currently we are following the developments in Yugoslavia. Mr. President, I would like to return to the Baltic region. Some reports appeared in our country, I think among the deputies, that you were allegedly supposed to visit the Baltic region. If this is not so, could you deny it please? Could you also give us at today's "Conversations" your stance on these problems?

[Havel] We—I mean the political leadership, government, the legislature, and myself—feel very troubled by what is happening there. We made this clear several times. We consider what is happening in the Baltic republics to be a signal which is very alarming and dangerous. We will continue to follow the situation carefully and draw attention to it. We are going to seek ways of emphasizing our solidarity with the lawful Baltic bodies, how to manifest it in the future, and how to inform the Soviet central leadership about our worries.

I do not think that this is a suitable moment now to travel there. I have a standing invitation. Nevertheless, this does not mean that we are failing to follow this situation all the time, that we do not attempt to analyze it and draw conclusions from it also for ourselves.

[Vejvoda] I think it was this week's issue of RESPEKT where we read a very interesting analysis pointing out that, regardless of our wishes, we are going to depend to a considerable extent on Soviet oil for the next two and a half to three years. Does this also have an impact on our relationship with the Baltic region?

[Havel] Of course it does. It is a complex matter of interlinked issues. Let us take into account what the very unstable situation in the Soviet Union means. Let us take into account what signals the events in the Baltic send. Let us take into account what consequences—both general and specific political consequences—it can have for our country.

I think that the bill on threats to the state is very topical now. There are various debates about it. Some people suspect that the present leadership intends to usurp some sort of special powers, some right to have an emergency state, declare dictatorship. This is, of course, a big mistake.

Our country is or can be under a certain threat. Let us realize that the very unstable situation in the Soviet Union can have a great number of consequences which can have a direct impact on us. It can happen, for instance, that all of sudden no oil will be coming to our country—which would mean that there will be no cars running, bus transport will be paralyzed, as will be the petrochemical industry. It can happen that an enormous mass of refugees will be fleeing to our country. It

can happen that armed groups from the Ukraine and other regions of the Soviet Union will begin to cross into our country.

We are aware of the unstable situation in Yugoslavia nowadays. We are aware of Saddam Husayn's threat. As far as I know, so far no terrorist actions of this origin were registered in our country, but they began to multiply throughout the world. Certain areas and human lives can really be in danger here. There are these as well as other things that we can include in the same category of possibly dangerous moments; the possibility of Soviet troops' transit from Germany via Czechoslovakia—I do not consider their transit across our country to be a good thing, especially nowadays. All this adds up to a dangerous situation. Let us hope these dangers will not materialize, but it could happen.

For such a case we have to have at our disposal certain constitutional possibilities of how to confront such things effectively. The Army, for instance, has enormous possibilities in this sphere. In case of the failure of our telecommunication network, the Army can assume its role for some time; in the case that supplies of basic foodstuffs are paralyzed for some reason, the Army can perform this task; and it can also protect our power industry compounds, gas pipelines, etc. Presently, after abolishing some bad clauses of the previous legal code but faiing to replace them with new ones, we in fact do not have any legal possibility to confront effectively such possible threats of various sorts. The issue is not, therefore, the use of the organized or armed forces against citizens, though some people fear that such a law would include this kind of possibility. On the contrary, the issue is the protection of our population against various possible dangers in the present agitated situation.

Let us take into account how fragile Czechoslovak democracy is, how fragile our political system is, how imperfect our legal system is while it is undergoing a total rewriting. Let us take into account our very complicated economic situation, when we are switching from one economic system to another which is radically different. All this is taking place in a situation of possible danger when our former markets collapse, when our traditional supplies of energy are under threat, etc. In such an unstable and complicated situation, there is always a certain danger of something called the rule of a firm hand—a danger that a strongman, a dictator, will emerge declaring that he will save the situation, that he will install order. Then a fragile, unstable democracy seems to become a nursery for authoritative personalities who—uninvited—take order in their hands.

I think the best protection against the danger of such a dictatorship is to build constitutional mechanisms which are going to be able to confront this kind of threat in a totally lawful, clear, and understandable form. This is the purpose of the bill we spoke about. It can, of course, be amended in the legislature in this or that way, but I consider it in its substance to be really necessary as a tool to protect our citizens. [passage omitted]

Dubrovsky on Internal Security, Gulf Situation

LD1701210391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Interview with Defense Minister Lubos Dubrovsky by Peter Salvich following the State Defense Council session in Prague on 17 January—recorded; Dobrovsky responds in Czech]

[Text] The conflict in the Persian Gulf was the main topic of today's State Defense Council session convened by Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa in Lany Castle.

After the session, Peter Salvich, our colleague from Prague, asked Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky for an interview:

[Salvich] Among other things the defense council discussed the political, military and security situation in the CSFR. What conclusions did you arrive at?

[Dobrovsky] I think that the conclusions are clearly defined in the report we have issued on the State Defense Council session. Those present at the meeting heard information from individual ministers, members of the Defense Council, on the activities already carried out to protect the health, lives, and property of CSFR citizens and also on the activities to protect the funtioning of the CSFR economy. They consented to the activities.

The report which I have mentioned contains a list of further tasks which the State Defense Council assigned to its individual members.

[Salvich] What is your personal view on the further development of the [Gulf] situation?

[Dobrovsky] According to information which we have on the situation in the Persian Gulf, it looks as if the Iraqi Air Force, particularly the missiles, have been disabled, and the danger of prolonged fighting has been reduced. Nevertheless, the huge conglomerate of ground forces is still a great problem that may have enormous and heavy consequences, including great loss of life. The decision and the order issued to start this action should not be undervalued. According to the government statement, the CSFR Government supports the action because it considers it to be the only possible way to promote the will expressed in a number of UN Security Council resolutions.

[Salvich] To what extent will current events in the Persian Gulf area affect the life and activity of the CSFR Army, and if it does, in what way?

[Dobrovsky] Naturally, the events in the Gulf will have an impact on the life of the CSFR Army. The Czechoslovak Army employs a certain number of soldiers to guard objects of special importance, so naturally the soldiers cannot then be used for other activities, particularly those aimed at speeding up the redeployment of troops in the Czechoslovak Army around the territory of the whole state to ensure that the territory of the entire

state is equally covered; that is, the region of the Czech Republic and the region of the Slovak Republic. This, however, is not essential. The essential change in activity is the certain problems which commanders at lower levels are able to cope with. [sentence as heard]

Vales Gives U.S. Ambassador Letter on Aid

LD2501235391 Prague CTK in English 1753 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Vaclav Vales handed U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Shirley Temple-Black here today a letter for U.S. Deputy State Secretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger specifying spheres in which Czechoslovakia would welcome non-investment assistance.

In his talks with the ambassador Vales appreciated the technical assistance offered to Czechoslovakia by the United States and said Czechoslovakia will create conditions for its effective use.

Listing priorities for U.S. aid, Vales mentioned education of the young generation, ecology, the energy industry, restructuring and privatization of the national economy, banking and financial services, and housing.

The deputy prime minister also spoke about the government's interest in the early establishment of a Czechoslovak-U.S. fund in support of private business.

Dienstbier on Soviet Refugees, Reactor Accidents

AU2501130991 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 25 Jan 91 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Wolfgang Boehm; place and date not given: "The CSFR Must Keep Its Borders Open"]

[Text] [Boehm] Is the CSFR concerned, as are many countries in the West, that it could be inundated by a wave of refugees from the Soviet Union?

[Dienstbier] The problem is currently a very small one. There could, however, eventually be a wave of migration.

[Boehm] Are there any plans to close the borders with the Soviet Union or to introduce immigration regulations?

[Dienstbier] It is not easy for us to decide how we should handle the problem of Soviet citizens who want to immigrate. Fortunately, the border is not long and is easy to check. I do not believe in a disastrous scenario; therefore, we must keep our borders open, above all for political refugees. We must, however, restrict the immigration of economic refugees. We advocate controlled and legal immigration.

[Boehm] The Austrian people are concerned about the recent accidents in CSFR nuclear power plants. Why did your government fail to notify Vienna of the incidents in time?

[Dienstbier] There was no accident that could have caused a nuclear leak. There was merely a technical defect outside the system. I have the impression that a campaign is being launched in Austria against CSFR nuclear reactors. You must be aware that we have no alternative. The brown coal power plants are responsible for the decreasing life expectancy of our people. This pollution also affects the Austrians. I do not understand your hysteria.

[Boehm] The fear was touched off by Chernobyl.

[Dienstbier] Yes, but that was in the Soviet Union. Such a thing could not happen in our country.

[Boehm] Can you guarantee that no nuclear accidents will happen in the CSFR?

[Dienstbier] I cannot, of course, give an absolute guarantee. Our experts have carried out analyses according to which there is no real danger. We cannot close down these power plants. We depend on them for our power supply.

[Boehm] Why did you turn down Austria's offer to supply electricity in compensation for the shutdown?

[Dienstbier] You certainly do not believe, do you, that Austria can really afford such supplies?

Ministry Discounts Reported Border Incident

LD2501195591 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] The Federal Ministry of the Interior announces that there was no shooting incident yesterday on the eastern border, and that the border with the Soviet Union is calm. We have been given this assurance both by the Soviet Union's border commissioner and the Hungarian side. The incident mentioned by Mr. Kulan in the legislature that was also reported yesterday by CTK took place as long ago as 20 December last year.

At that time, Hungarian border guards reported that on the night of 19-20 December 1990, an armed group of soldiers from the Soviet Union tried to force entry into Hungary. The Soviets later specified that 42 civilians were involved, and they had gone from Chop to the Hungarian border. They did not respond to warning shots fired by Soviet border guard patrols, who then used their weapons and wounded 15 people. In that incident too, no violation of the Czechoslovak state border occurred.

Soviet General Denies Troops Selling Weapons

LD2601035191 Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 25 (CTK)—Neither the Central Group of Soviet troops nor Czechoslovak police have registered

any case of Soviet soldiers trying to sell arms or ammunition to Czechoslovak citizens, Soviet troops Central Group Commander Lieutenant-General Eduard Vorobyev told CTK today.

He said that on the contrary ten cases of Czechoslovak citizens asking Soviet soldiers to sell them arms were noted but that these attempts were thwarted.

Vorobyev thus refuted reports about Soviet soldiers selling their arms which were published in the Czechoslovak press as well as a statement by Czech Interior Minister Tomas Sokol.

Soviet 'Hawk' Claims USSR 'Steered' Revolution

AU2501212091 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 24 Jan 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Colonel Has Evidence!"]

[Text] Uppsala— On Tuesday [22 January] Swedish Television broadcast an interview with Soviet Army Colonel V. Alksnis, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Colonel Alksnis, who identifies himself as a "hawk" and is generally regarded as one of the leaders of those who oppose democracy in the USSR, attacked in the interview E. Shevardnadze, former minister of foreign affairs, for his policy of withdrawing troops from Eastern Europe and described this policy as "not properly thought out and hasty." The colonel supposedly avails himself of evidence showing that the Soviet side, particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Soviet embassies, steered the changes in Eastern Europe and brought about the fall of the regimes there. Supposedly he also avails himself of documents confirming that the demonstrations in Prague were directed by the Soviet Embassy and that the Soviet side financed Civic Forum [OF]. In his opinion, one should have let the events in Eastern Europe run their natural course and should not have intervened in them. "If left in peace, Communists and OF in Czechoslovakia would have come to an agreement," Alksnis claims.

Investigation of November 1989 Events Continues

AU2501124491 Prague CTK in English 1327 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 23 (CTK)—Since November 26, 1989 when the Czechoslovak military prosecution started investigating the November 17 events legal proceedings were taken against 35 persons of whom 20 stood trial.

Another ten persons are still investigated. They include rank-and-file members of the police and secret police (StB) as well as prominent persons such as former Federal Interior Minister Frantisek Kincl, his First Deputy Minister Lieutenant General Aloiz Lorenc and Chief of the Counter-Intelligence Service Colonel Karel Vykypel.

Proceedings against Lorenc were started on April 30, 1990 for abusing the powers of an official. Lorenc was accused of having ordered on November 17, 1989 the arrest of Alexander Dubcek who participated in a students demonstration in Prague. He was also accused that on December 8, 1989, acting as interior minister, he ordered destruction of documents on the state secret police.

On December 6, 1990 the higher prosecution in Pribram, Central Bohemia, further accused Lorenc of abusing his power of a public official and of the crime of restraining personal freedoms.

Kincl and Vykypel were accused of similar crimes. All three are accused of ordering or taking measures aimed at "paralyzing undesirable activities of anti-socialist forces."

Dobrovsky on Meciar's 'Confusing Misunderstanding'

LD2701192691 Prague CTK in English 1445 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 27 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar claimed on Czechoslovak Television last night that the way of defending East Slovakia will be discussed in Bratislava on Monday and that he does not identify himself with the stand of the Defence Ministry on this issue, Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky told CTK today.

The defence minister stressed that after his personal meeting with the Slovak prime minister and after an extraordinary session of the State Defence Council it has been agreed that during a meeting in Bratislava on Monday Vladimir Meciar and heads of district offices in Slovakia will be briefed on the timetable of troops' redislocation [as received] in the Slovak territory.

Lubos Dobrovsky said that this timetable is already being realized and ensues from Slovakia's specific situation. It shortens the original term of the redislocation of troops by a year to enable two complete divisions of the Czechoslovak Army to carry out its defence tasks in Slovakia already from October 31, 1991. Air defence of the Slovak territory will also be considerably strengthened, he said.

The Czechoslovak minister of defence told CTK that Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar knew all these facts, including the operational plan of the Czechoslovak Army concerning the regulation of the expected migration wave, already before his last night's TV statement. This means that his words can be explained only as a 'confusing misunderstanding', Dobrovsky said.

Havel Comments on No-Confidence Vote Rumors

LD2601032991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] In an interview with our media today, President Vaclav Havel expressed his opinion on reports that some

Federal Assembly deputies are considering a no-confidence vote in some members of the Federal Government. Vaclav Havel said that the reports about the no-confidence vote had not been confirmed. Minister Vaclav Klaus, while visiting Vaclav Havel today, stressed several times that he considered this to be a provocation and that it was not true. Similar reports, however, according to Vaclav Havel, bring attention to the shortcomings of our constitutional system, which, in fact, does not take into account a great number of alternative situations that could emerge in a democratic society. It is not possible to rule out various crisis situations before a new constitution is approved. This is, according to Vaclav Havel, exactly why he is demanding such constitutional safeguards as a constitutional court, referendum, state of emergency, and possibly some others. Currently, the legislature can be dissolved, it can recall the president, express a vote of no-confidence in the government, and then there would be no one to maintain the continuity of state administration.

Calfa Interviewed on Emergency Measures Bill

LD2601102891 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1855 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister"—live or recorded; Calfa speaks in Slovak]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] A new federal minister of foreign trade has been just appointed, and the government works and is active. Can I ask you, Mr. Prime Minister, about your feelings when you read today's newspapers where you certainly noticed reports about the legislature lobbying the new government for a no-confidence vote in your government?

[Calfa] Of course I do not feel good about it. In reading reports of this kind one can hardly be pleased. Nevertheless, I would like to say that the fact that a new minister of foreign trade was appointed today, and that the government has reached the full number of its members, is a symbol of a kind—that the government really works, the government works as a collective, the government faces tasks. I have to say that in this period, when we are embarking on an economic reform that is slowly being implemented, when it is necessary to correct the steps that are being undertaken and to look very carefully for further new steps, linked with the previous ones—then the last thing we need is a destabilization of the federal government, a destabilization of the bodies of state power and state administration. We certainly do not want bad relations between the Federal Assembly and the federal government.

I really do hope that these things will be settled, and according to information I keep receiving today, it really seems to be simply gossiping in the corridors.

[Reporter] I would like to ask you about something that is probably at present troubling many people in our republic—I am talking about the bill on emergency measures, on the state of threat to the Republic. The Persian Gulf war continues, the situation in the Soviet Union is more than problematic, and at this time all of us feel it necessary that certain constitutional measures be taken. Unfortunately, this bill was rejected by the Slovak government, and various problems emerged. In your view, what must be done to have the bill adopted?

[Calfa] Formally it is necessary that it be approved by the Federal Assembly, as it is the Federal Assembly which approves such things, and it is the Federal Assembly which has the power to make the decision, also taking into account the stances of other state bodies as far as this law is concerned.

What I want to say is that a big gap really exists in our Constitution, and only nowadays are we discovering how big this gap is, because we do not have any instruments to enable the appropriate state bodies to act promptly and effectively in cases when the integrity of the state, its constitutional setup, is in jeopardy, or if disasters so extensive happen in Czechoslovakia—God forbid—that it is necessary to use organized force.

Taking into account all these reasons, I think it is necessary to adopt this bill. The Slovak government did not fail to approve it—it simply did not discuss it on its full merits, according to our information. This means that it rests on the Federal Assembly deputies, including Slovak deputies to the Federal Assembly, to make something of this information about the Slovak government's stance. [passage omitted]

Baksay Appointed Foreign Trade Minister

LD2501233891 Prague CTK in English 1704 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today appointed Jozef Baksay Czechoslovakia's Foreign Trade Minister.

The post was vacant from August 21, 1990, when former Foreign Trade Minister Slavomir Stracar died suddenly during his tour of Latin America.

Baksay, 39, is a follower of the Slovak "Public Against Violence" (VPN) civic movement.

Poll: Czechs Trust President, Slovaks Government

AU2501115391 Prague CTK in English 1756 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Prague, January 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel was the most trusted politician in the Czech lands at the beginning of 1991 according to the latest poll results released by the Public Research Institute here today.

As many as 90 percent of the polled expressed Havel their confidence. Most Czechs also trust the national as

well as federal government (79-78 percent respectively), the Czech National Council (71 percent) and the Federal Assembly (65 percent).

The situation is a bit different in Slovakia. Most Slovaks trust most the Slovak government (85 percent), followed by the Slovak National Council (69 percent), the president (60 percent), Federal Assembly (51 percent) and federal government (46 percent).

The polls concerning the future structure of the Civic Forum show that 56 percent of the Forum's partisans as well as 34 percent of others favor the defining of its political profile while 28 percent of the forum's partisans and 25 percent of others would prefer it in its present heterogeneous form.

35 percent of the Forum's partisans as well as 7 percent of others sympathize with the right wing Civic Forum stream, while the liberal stream gets 11 and 4 percent and the left wing stream 2 and 4 percent respectively. The decisive majority (52 percent of the partisans and 85 percent of others) has not a clear view on the issue and their orientation could be decisive for the political future of these streams.

TU President on Concluded 'General Agreement'

AU2501153491 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Jan 91 pp 1,2

[B. Janik report: "General Agreement for This Year"]

[Text] Prague— Yesterday Roman Kovac, president of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions, informed journalists about, among other things, the General Agreement that is to be signed in Bratislava on 28 January. This agreement between the trade unions, the federal Government, and employees will be valid for one year.

The signing of the agreement on a federal level does not rule out the possibility of separate agreements on the level of the republics as there are areas, such as health care, which are exclusively within the jurisdiction of the republics.

The agreement is based on the trade unions' proposals of four months ago, which have been the subject of tripartite negotiations. R. Kovac mentioned several disputed issues that have been sticking points of the negotiations for a long time. These concerned, for example, the demand that all government decrees be discussed first in the tripartite council and only then in the government; the level of minimum wages (the government proposed 1,850 korunas (Kcs), the trade unions Kcs2,200 where a compromise of Kcs2,000 has been reached; and the level of unemployment support where a compromise between the two republics had to be found. The final agreement is that during the first six months after dismissal for organizational reasons, the unemployed will receive 65 percent [of his former earnings] and in the second six months 60 percent. The Czech government was in favor of a higher percentage, while the Slovak government proposed a lower figure.

Explaining why the agreement has been concluded for one year, R. Kovac said that economic and social changes in the state will be so dynamic that it would be pointless to conclude the agreement for a longer period. Negotiations on the agreement for 1992 will start in the second half of this year. Speaking about minimum wages, the president of the trade union confederation said that, even with the agreed level of Kcs2,000, about two percent of employees will find themselves below this limit. [sentence as published] Had the government's proposal been accepted, this would apply to as many as 11 percent of employees. The wages of seven percent of employees, 80 percent of them women, will have to be raised in Slovakia to reach the minimum level.

Negotiations of principle between the trade unions and the federal government are planned for the first week of February. The trade union confederation has been pressing for these negotiations for quite a long time.

Foreign Trade To Be Liberalized, Risks Explained

AU2501152091 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jan 91 p 1

[Marcela Doleckova article: "Without Tedious Procedures; Liberalization of Foreign Trade on the Horizon"]

[Excerpt] Liberalization of foreign trade is one of the fundamental issues of economic reform, one for which enterprises and entrepreneurs have been impatiently waiting.

According to data of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, a total of 2,756 legal entities had been provided with a license for foreign trade activity by 30 September 1990. Only one-third of them, however, have been involved in actual foreign trade activity. Everyone who wants to become active in foreign trade must still undergo a licensing procedure at the Ministry of Foreign Trade; he must pass through the notoriously famous Barcak wheel [named after the minister of foreign trade in the Government of National Consensus].

The Ministry of Foreign Trade has, however, prepared a proposal for the liberalization of foreign trade, has submitted this proposal to the government, and this proposal has also been discussed in the relevant Federal Assembly committees. Apart from the ministry's proposal, there also exists a proposal drafted by a group of deputies, the text of which, however, is very similar to that drafted by the ministry. Legal entities entered in the company register would, under both proposals, automatically have the right to be active in foreign trade without having to undergo any additional procedures. It has even been ascertained that the abolition of the licensing procedure would be possible even under the currently valid law [on foreign trade], which means that enterprises would not have to wait for the passage of a new

law. The current law would only have to be amended (this would be already its third amendment). The Ministry of Foreign Trade is so optimistic as to assume that this could be done within two weeks.

The situation is different, however, concerning the foreign trade activity of small entrepreneurs who are registered only with local administrative bodies. They will apparently have to wait for a new law, during the formulation of which account will have to be taken of the fact that free access of individuals to foreign trade might influence the foreign exchange economy of the state and its financial situation in general. Current discussions, therefore, concern, on the one hand, the [possibility of introducing] tax burdens and, on the other, the exemption of private foreign exchange accounts from the system of internal convertibility (the system of internal convertibility has not changed the status of foreign exchange accounts of private persons).

When a legal entity becomes active on a foreign market, it cannot operate with a greater volume of foreign currencies than it can afford to buy with its koruna funds. Moreover, it must offer its foreign exchange proceeds to its commercial bank. None of these provisions applies to private persons. The new law on foreign trade must therefore be formulated so it does not open the door to evident frauds and also tricks and stratagems or, to put it more politely, to prevent loopholes allowing the law's misuse. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Foreign Trade is convinced that a completely new law liberalizing the foreign trade activity of enterprises and private entrepreneurs will see the light of day within two months. [passage omitted]

Regulations of New Customs Law Detailed

AU2501170391 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 24 Jan 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Will Customs Barriers Fall?"]

[Excerpts] Every Czechoslovak citizen will be able to import from abroad goods worth 3,000 korunas (Kcs) of customs value without having to pay customs duty. If the customs value exceeds Kcs3,000 but falls short of Kcs8,000, he will pay a customs duty of 5 percent. Regarding imports of goods above Kcs8,000 of customs value, the customs duty will be calculated on the basis of the customs tariff that is a supplement of the CSSR Government Decree No. 228 of 1988. These and other changes will become effective on 1 February 1991 when the amendment to the customs law and the executory provisions will come into force. This was stated by Vojtech Klucar, director of the First Department of the Central Customs Administration, at a news conference in Prague yesterday.

The appraisal of the value of goods on the basis of prices on the Czechoslovak market is being abandoned. The point of departure will be the customs value, which is the price of the article in the country where it was acquired, minus value-added tax, multiplied by the exchange rate of the currency in question. [passage omitted]

Another change is that it will no longer be possible to pool the duty-free limits of individual family members, which means that each member of a traveling family will have to declare the goods he imports separately.

OF's Obroda Club Will Not Join Party

AU2201121991 Prague CTK in English 1559 GMT 20 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 20 (CTK)—The Obroda (Revival) Club decided last night not to join the new party, Civic Forum (OF), saying that "We, being members of the democratic left, will not allow anybody to pursue a right-wing policy on our behalf and under an appropriated name and program".

Obroda, grouping former reform Communists, was part of the Civic Forum, which came into being spontaneously during the November 1989 revolution as a platform of various streams of opinions ranging from right to left. At its congress last weekend, a resolution was adopted providing for the OF's transformation into a right-wing party.

The Obroda meeting last night also discussed integration with the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and approved a resolution on intensification of their cooperation.

In a letter addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, Obroda calls on the Soviet president to stop violence in the Soviet Union.

Subsidies Approved To Combat Food Glut

AU2501132591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jan 91 p 3

[Alena Adamkova article: "When Will Food Prices Go Down?"]

[Excerpts] Under the headline "Is the Margin Too Big?," we reported last Friday [18 January] on the possibility of the extension of a certain state subsidy on the price of milk. [passage omitted] It has meanwhile been decided that producers will indeed receive a subsidy, which will not, however, have any influence on the price of milk. Why? This was our question for Engineer Frantisek Kruntorad, director of the Food Policy Department at the Ministry of Agriculture of the Czech Republic.

As he explained to us, the approved subsidy of 1.20 korunas (Kcs) per liter of produced milk (with the exception of long-life milk and milk for feeding purposes) actually represents the difference between the originally set maximum price of full-fat milk (Kcs7.5) and the subsequently approved price of Kcs6.30, which often means a loss for the dairy plant. [passage omitted] At the ministry's recommendation, dairy plants will

share this subsidy with primary producers in the form of a proportionate increase in the milk procurement price. [passage omitted]

Farmers, who are often unable to sell their produce or sell it at a loss, will also be provided with a protective "cushion" in the form of state subsidies from the so-called Price Guarantee Fund, which is to be administered by the newly established Market Regulation Enterprise.

What subsidies will this be, in which amount, and for which purposes? The basic aim of these subsidies will be to ensure the marketing of surplus milk, beef, bread rye, and wheat, of which we have so much now after the liberalization of prices that we are unable to use them. They can be exported in the form of butter, powdered milk, grain, or flour, but this can only be done at a loss (our price of butter, for example, is 55 percent above the world market price). This is why the Market Regulation Enterprise will procure these surplus commodities, export them, and cover the export losses. A total of 6.1 billion korunas from this year's budget [of the Czech Republic Ministry of Agriculture] has been appropriated for this purpose.

Statistics on Czech Industry's 1990 Decline

AU2501171191 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jan 91 p 8

[Unattributed report: "A Decline in 1990"]

[Text] According to a report issued by the Czech Statistical Office, industrial production in the Czech Republic declined by 3.5 percent and there was also a negligible reduction in the productivity of labor. Out of 19 industrial sectors, production increased in only four, mostly in the printing industry, which increased its production by almost six percent.

According to preliminary results, branches in which strategies for reducing primary energy sources production and for overall restrictions on the national economy's raw supply demands were implemented make the largest contribution to the decline in production. Limiting sales of bituminous and brown coal by one-tenth meant a more than nine-percent decrease in the fuel sectors' production. Electricity production declined by approximately four percent. A drop in the production of pig iron, steel, and sheet metal materials by almost five percent was manifested in a reduction in the metallurgical branches' production. A fall of almost eight percent was recorded in the electrotechnical and electronic industry's output.

Increased prices for strategic raw material inputs, including restricted and irregular oil supplies from the USSR, were manifested in a decline in the production of gasoline and motor and heating oils by roughly six and 24 percent. Removing subsidies on food products and their subsequent price amendments significantly differentiated consumers' interest in food products, in particular in the products of the dairy, meat, and canned food industries. For example, cold cut production declined by four percent and milk production declined by 10 percent.

Considerable changes in the organizational structure doubled the number of enterprises last year. The reduction in the average number of their employees from 3,697 to 1,770 also corresponds to this. First and foremost, organizations with fewer than 500 employees were automatically granted independence. At the end of the year, almost two dozen organizations had more than 10,000 employees.

According to estimates, more than 60,000 employees left industry in the Czech Republic in 1990, that is, an average of 60 employees per enterprise.

Slovak Minister Criticizes Hungarian Remarks

LD2501230391 Prague CTK in English 1559 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Bratislava Jan 25 (CTK)—Slovak Minister for External Relations Milan Knazko hoped at a press conference here today that Hungary will take measures to prevent repetition of statements about Slovakia such as were made recently by a Foreign Ministry official.

Knazko was referring to a statement made by Hungarian Foreign Ministry State Secretary Tamas Katona in the daily "HIRLAP" last week saying that anti-Hungarian, anti-semitic, nationalist and anti-Czech trends have been esclating of late in Slovakia.

Speaking about relations with Austria, Knazko said they are complicated by the issue of nuclear power plants. (An anti-nuclear campaign has been conducted in Austria over the past months, focusing especially on the Western Slovak plant at Jaslovske Bohunice equipped with Soviet-made reactors)

Reacting to Austria's criticism that Czechoslovakia failed to honour international agreements when a fire broke out at Jaslovske Bohunice last week, Knazko said no radioactivity leaked into the atmosphere and therefore Czechoslovakia was not obliged to announce it within 24 hours.

Knazko was critical of distorted interpretation of relations between the Czech and Slovak republics in the Czech media, adding that his ministry will respond to false information on Slovakia abroad to make it objective.

Speaking about the Gulf War, the minister rejected the view that it is a conflict between two cultures describing it as a war of the international community against an aggressor.

He said the conflict in the Baltics is a profound and complex one and should not be settled by military means.

Comments on Relations

LD2601044991 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Interview with Slovak International Relations Minister Milan Knazko by Ludmila Stanova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Stanova] Regarding Slovak-Hungarian relations, I asked Milan Knazko how he accounted for the fact that our contacts with Hungary seem to be the most problematic of our international relations, in the sense that similar misunderstandings have already occurred on a number of occasions.

[Knazko] This shows that the political scene in Hungary goes through different stages because, despite such statements, which are not in harmony with good-neighborly relations, we also have evidence of the fact that our relations as neighbors can develop very constructively and can also produce favorable results. We are to visit Hungary shortly and I believe that we will manage to iron out many of these problems.

[Stanova] At what level would you wish to iron out these problems, and what do you think that you, for your part, can do to avoid such things?

[Knazko] I think that we will make certain notions clear to one another, we will make certain political standpoints clear to each other, and that at least on this level—the official government level on both sides—such misunderstandings on the basis of a political agreement will not recur.

[Stanova] Do you consider this a sort of interference in our internal affairs?

[Knazko] I do not consider this a sort of interference in our internal affairs. I simply consider it an inadmissible interference in our internal affairs.

[Stanova] In this connection I would like to hear your reaction to the statement by Hungarian Foreign Minister Mr. Jeszenszky that Czechoslovkia should not overtake Hungary to enter the EC.

[Knazko] I think this is something which will be decided somewhere else and not between us, and I consider this statement rather unfortunate. As you know, we are to visit the Hungarian Republic in a few days' time, and I am sure that we will manage to use that opportunity to iron out many misunderstandings.

Meciar Comments on Political, Security Situation

LD2701000491 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Following today's session of the Slovak government, the prime minister met journalists who asked him about the reported formation of a new shadow cabinet.

[Begin recording] [Meciar] Its composition is not very probable in the form proposed, as far as personalities are concerned. I consider this to be mere guesswork.

I pay more attention to the changes in the Czech political scene. It is moving very much to the right, and much influence is being acquired by various extremist elements. If you follow the latest developments, you will often see that it takes a stance against something but seldom states what it supports. Now it is against the communists, now against the Chartists, and now against the Slovaks, or in favor of screening which is aimed against collaborators. This means that its impact is quite destructive and not very constructive—that is, it does not define unifying elements. Of course, once the political scene is disturbed and antagonized in such a way, it is then easier to push through the interests of a group at the expense of everything else, especially if some pressure is exerted.

[Reporter] A session devoted to the security situation will be held in Bratislava on Monday. Defense Minister Dobrovsky is also supposed to attend. What questions are going to be discussed there?

[Meciar] There are different views on the strength of the defense of East Slovakia. We feel it should be stronger and better and do not share the view of federal bodies—the Ministry of Interior or Ministry of National Defense—about the timing and methods of handling this issue. That is why we have to hold talks. We think that on Monday, specific measures should be adopted straight away regarding what is going to be implemented in the next few days or weeks to secure Slovakia's security, as well as the security of the entire Czechoslovak Republic. The Army and Border Guard always have to take into account the location of strategic threat or a certain degree of danger. They cannot stay in one place and not move if the international situation changes. [end recording]

Slovak National Democrats Adopt Declaration

LD2701232291 Prague CTK in English 1512 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Text] Bratislava Jan 27 (CTK)—A declaration adopted at the first congress of the Slovak National Democratic Movement here yesterday calls for unconditional and immediate declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty and neutrality guaranteed by world superpowers.

The document describes the Czechoslovak Government initiative concerning Czechoslovakia's possible membership of NATO as an "unpremeditated step with immense consequences".

Participants in the congress called for immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from the Kuwaiti territory but said that the presence of the Czechoslovak unit in the Persian Gulf is a "premature step of Czechoslovakia's representatives which might complicate the relations with the Arab countries and drag the Slovak Republic into the unpremeditated policy of the Prague centre". They appealed to President Havel and other Czechoslovak representatives to strive for a diplomatic solution not only of the current conflict in the Persian Gulf but of all problems in the Middle East region.

The document voices support for the Baltic republics' struggle for independence and sovereignty and points to the "policy of forced assimilation of nationalities living on the territory of Hungary by the country's government bodies".

The Slovak National Democratic Movement was registered in November 1990. Its yesterday's congress was attended by over 300 persons. Peter Brnak was elected chairman of the movement.

Slovak Communist Party Changes Name

LD2701022691 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] The Communist Party in Slovakia has terminated its activity in its present form with a decision by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia-Party of the Democratic Left to change the party's name. Although the discussion at the Central Committee session showed a real difference of opinions, not only on the party's name but also on the nature of its policy, the necessary three-fifths majority of Central Committee members voted for the first part of the name to be dropped. As of 1 February this party, the only left-wing and the third largest party in the Slovak legislature, will use the name Party of the Democratic Left [strana demokratickej lavice].

The Communist Renewal Platform [platforma komunistickej obnovy] disagreed with the change in the party's name and announced the formation of a preparatory committee of the Union of Communists of Slovakia [zvaz komunistov slovenska].

Commentary on Slovak Disapproval of Screening

AU2501120591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Jan 91 p 3

[Jan Fuele commentary: "Darkness Behind the Screenings 'Searchlight'"]

[Excerpts] The calm before the storm. The situation on our political scene—which is constantly being screened—can be briefly characterized this way: it is slowly becoming more than obvious that the screenings are not only aimed at purifying our public life, but—first and foremost—have become an element of the political struggle. [passage omitted]

Members of the legislative committee investigating the events of 17 November 1989 have decided not to travel unnecessarily to Bratislava and have had materials that may shed some light on former State Security collaborators brought to Prague. This was done with the agreement of Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos, but without the knowledge of the Slovak Republic Government and Slovak National Council [SNR] deputies. The documentary evidence is now, allegedly, being kept in a safe place. Allow me, however, to cast a few doubts on this.

"Reliable" information has reached Bratislava from this safe place that half the members of the Slovak Government have not passed the screenings, that there are also former collaborators among SNR deputies (the reports talk about 50), and that there are several well-informed deputies in the lobbies of the federal legislature who claim to know the names of 60 other colleagues who in the past worked for another department.

In this situation, Frantisek Miklosko and Vladimir Meciar spoke out against such a method of screening. Immediately afterwards the Slovak prime minister appeared on a list—distributed in Prague—of those affected by the screenings.

Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos met with SNR deputies yesterday. The journalists who waited for him were interested, first and foremost, in future policy on the screenings because Vladimir Meciar is demanding the documents be returned to Slovakia. Among other things, the legislative committee investigating the events before and after 17 November 1989 will probably get caught up in jurisdiction—it was originally appointed for tasks other than the screening of its colleagues, government members, or staff in the president's office. Yesterday, Jan Langos refused very decently—but still a refusal in the end—to meet with journalists. According to his press secretary, the minister will hold a news conference in Bratislava next week. More than a few questions remain to be answered. Unless—of course—someone, interested in directing the screenings himself, unfolds for us a drama whose denouement is still a great unknown.

Correction to Klaus on Demise of CEMA

AU2501155391

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Klaus on Demise of CEMA, Future Cooperation," published in the 23 January East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 12:

Page 12, column two, second paragraph, sentences six to seven, make read: ...from the USSR, there was no CEMA to intervene. When one CEMA country (the German Democratic Republic) disappeared from the scene, there was no CEMA to negotiate, in the interest of the other member countries, on compliance with its obligations toward the other countries... (rephrasing for clarity)

Page 13, column one, first partial paragraph, sentence eight, make read: ...Development, and European Community, or is it important for us to be members of a renewed CEMA, the Pentagonale, or similar new institutions? Will we get... (rephrasing for clarity)

Same paragraph, sentence 11, make read: ...of the ruble earlier because of a... (supplying missing word "earlier")

Border Guard Spokesman on Border Reinforcement

LD2601193791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Interview with border guard spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Janos Zubek by announcer; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] According to NEPSZABADSAG, the Hungarian-Yugoslav border has been reinforced. The decision was evidently made because of the Croatian developments. At the other end of the line is Lieutenant Colonel Janos Zubek, border guard spokesman. Who made the decision? The border guard? Or is this a political decision?

[Zubek] This decision was made by the national commander of the border guard on the basis of plans worked out weeks or months earlier. The Hungarian border guard has the duty to watch political developments taking place in the neighboring countries and, if these developments represent any kind of danger for the state border of the Hungarian Republic, to take the necessary steps. On the basis of this, the national commander of the border guard decided last night to reinforce the Hungarian-Yugoslav state border, both along the green border and at the border crossing stations alike.

[Announcer] On account of the Gulf war, you have been on reinforced duty for about three weeks now on all our borders. Who were you able to use now to reinforce this considerable stretch of the Hungarian-Yugoslav green border—after all, it is over 600 km long?

[Zubek] Obviously we could not effect the reinforcement in any other way except by withdrawing people, personnel, and technical equipment alike from other, less dangerous, and somewhat calmer stretches of the border.

[Announcer] So they are not being reinforced with soldiers?

[Zubek] No, no, this is strictly the job of the (?border guard).

[Announcer] The reason I ask this with such emphasis is because the neighboring country would obviously regard it as an unfriendly step.

[Zubek] This is the task of the border guard. There is no question of other soldiers; there is no question of the involvement of the Hungarian Army.

Foreign Ministry Protests Belgrade Accusations

LD2601134991 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry protested in a communique that Belgrade Television repeated a film containing false accusations.

Among other things the film claims that Croatia illegally obtained arms in large quantity from Hungary. The Defense Ministry and the Ministry of International Economic Relations already denied this at the beginning of the month. At the same time the film repeated on Belgrade Television last night contained accusations of a political nature against Hungary.

The Foreign Ministry has therefore protested against the unfounded accusations in a verbal message.

Talks With Russian Federation Outlined

LD2501190691 Budapest MTI in English 1809 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—Russian and Hungarian firms are hoping to conclude a number of concrete business deals in the near future, Peter Akos Bod, Minister of Industry and Trade, told a news conference in Budapest on Friday.

The minister summed up the results achieved in the talks with the delegation of the Ministry of Industry of the Russian Federation. The dialogue started in November last year, and the largest Soviet republic is invariably an important partner for Hungary, the minister said. He added that there were particularly good prospects for mutually beneficial co-operation in oil production and timber processing.

The delegation headed by Valeriy Kovrigin, deputy minister of industry of the Russian Federation, arrived in Budapest on January 22 to hold talks with senior officials of the Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Ministry of International Economic Relations, to visit several industrial firms, and to study the possibilities of privatization in Hungary.

Kovrikin said Russia is encouraging the establishment of joint ventures. He added the delegation had received some noteworthy offers here. The most lucrative fields of co-operation include the mutually beneficial partnerships in the fields of automobile manufacture, electronics and computer engineering. The Russian Federation is prepared to contract over 8,000 Ikarus buses and a great amount of spare parts a year, and has a vested interest in the transfer of technology.

Arguments Against 1995 World Expo Given

AU2301100691 Budapest MTI in English 1646 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, 21 January (MTI)—Since the Budapest local government has rejected the idea of the Budapest-Vienna World Expo, the Hungarian Government will not give the all-clear to the project either, Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, told the press after the Budapest session of the Austro-Hungarian inter-governmental World Expo Committee on Monday.

The view that Hungary is lacking the economic, technical and financial conditions for organizing the Expo in

1995 is gaining ground in Hungary, Kadar said. He added, however, that the country would be prepared to host the Expo one year later.

Although Expo Vienna, the Austrian organizer, understands Hungary's current situation, it would apply for the right to organize the event alone if it had to, the minister said.

Kadar said that the Paris-based program office would accept the recent change in Hungary's political system as a vis major justifying the request for postponing the Expo. He added that even the collapse of co-operation and trade within CEMA, the switchover from rouble to dollar accounting, and the drought that hit Hungary last year would also have been accepted as seperate vires majores.

The Austro-Hungarian inter-governmental committee, and the two countries' program offices, however, are making preparations for the 1995 World Expo as scheduled, Kadar said.

'Interstate' Trade Agreement Signed With Romania

LD2401132691 Budapest MTI in English 1226 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, January 24, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, and Constantin Fota, Romanian minister of trade and tourism, signed an interstate agreement in Budapest yesterday on the new system of trade and payments between the two countries.

The agreement takes effect from 1991.

A protocol was also signed on ways of settling Hungary's outstanding claims against Romania, worth about 100 million rubles at December 31, 1990.

The protocol stipulates that Romania will repay its debts by the end of the current year.

The new trade and payments agreement prescribes that accounting between Hungary and Romania will be carried out in convertible currency, and companies of the two countries are entitled to conclude contracts between one another directly under the usual international terms of trade.

Hungarian-Romanian trade conducted under interstate agreements was worth 314 million rubles in 1990, only 52 per cent of the corresponding figure for the previous year.

At the same time, two-way barter trade between small entrepreneurs worked out at an estimated 84 million rubles.

In 1990, convertible trade reached 130 million US dollars, as against the annual 3-4 million US dollars in previous years, owing to Hungarian food exports totalling 115 million US dollars and Hungarian imports of 20,000 tonnes of lead-free petrol worth 15 million US dollars.

Although Hungarian experts expect a boost in Hungarian-Romanian trade in the small entrepreneurial sector in a year or two, a drop of 20-25 per cent is likely to be seen in bilateral trade in 1991, the transitional period.

Reportage on Prime Minister's Visit to Austria

WA2401235591

For reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to Austria, including reports on his meetings with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and European Democratic Union officials, please see the Austria section of the 24 January West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

New Agriculture Minister on Political Career

AU2301121591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with newly appointed Agriculture Minister Elemer Gergatz by Ujhegyi in Budapest on 16 January: "We Need a Competitive Agricultural Sector"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Elemer Gergatz, member of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], took his oath of office on the afternoon of 16 January. We asked him about his plans and ideas immediately after his inauguration.

[Ujhegyi] Until now, you have only been known within a narrow professional circle, but as of today, you have been projected into a political career at the head of the Agricultural Ministry, which is struggling with extreme difficulties. With what aims are you setting about your new tasks?

[Gergatz] Our most important aim is to integrate Hungary's agricultural sector into the structure of our social market economy. This requires an efficient and profitable agricultural sector; in fact, I am even prepared to state that our agricultural sector has to become a competitive branch. At the same time, this branch cannot be cut off from party political interests. That is precisely why, during my audience before the economic committee yesterday, I asked all the representatives of political parties to abandon their illogical and generally detrimental party squabbles. Indeed, we are not in a position to allow ourselves to behave in this way.

[Ujhegyi] Nevertheless, since February 1990, you have also been a party politician; you are a member of the FKgP, the party that has the greatest stake in the land issue. How will you be able to combine your two functions?

[Gergatz] It is true that I am a Smallholder, and as such, my role is to represent the interests of my party. At the

same time, as a member of the responsible Hungarian Government, I now have to think along lines that correspond to the views of the agricultural sector and the rural population. I cannot even agree with the seizure of land, although I understand the people who see this as their only solution at this point. Nevertheless, I think we should hold out for a few more months, until this question is settled in a constitutional way.

[Ujhegyi] You were introduced to the leaders of the FKgP on Friday, 11 January, and that was probably the first time you met. How will you be able to cooperate with the leaders of the party?

[Gergatz] I am confident that within the space of a few months, we will come to know each other, and they will also realize that I do not need to say things I do not mean.

[Ujhegyi] It was Prime Minister Jozsef Antall who nominated you as minister of agriculture. Do you think you might act as an intermediary between the FKgP and your coalition partners?

[Gergatz] I will act as an intermediary to the same extent that my fellow ministers act as intermediaries. Indeed, a coalition is also a question of compromise.

Nominated Labor Minister Queried on Initial Plans

AU2301122291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with Gyula Kiss, nominated labor minister, by J. Kiss in Budapest on 16 January: "MAGYAR HIRLAP Interview"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Gyula Kiss announced his plans during the morning of 16 January. We asked Kiss for an interview after his audience; not a single committee vote opposed the nomination of Gyula Kiss.

[J. Kiss] Until now, as a minister without portfolio responsible for youth policy, you have not had much time to show great results. Taking into account the speed of ministerial reshuffles under this government, do you think you would have a greater chance of achieving results at the head of the Labor Ministry?

[Gyula Kiss] If I had harbored any doubts about myself, I would not have accepted the nomination. I am a little bit pessimistic as far as external elements are concerned—the difficulties of the Labor Ministry, over which I have no control—because unemployment rates, which are growing day by day, and the flaws of our employment policy have a detrimental effect on the stable position of our minister.... I would already like to stress at this stage that it is not the minister who creates unemployment! Unemployment is the negative result of current economic changes, although we have set off in the direction of a social market economy.... The minister's role is to handle the unemployment situation that has already developed by using the employment policies at his disposal. I have undertaken to try and reduce the burdens of our expected unemployed, estimated at several hundred thousand people.

[J. Kiss] Presently, and for a few weeks to come, the Interest Coordination Council is discussing another important issue, namely the liberalization of wages, or conversely, the regulation of wages. Which viewpoint do you support?

[Gyula Kiss] The liberalization of wages is an elementary conceptual element in a market economy, so that is what we have to strive for. The "only" question is: Have we laid down the foundations for a market economy to such an extent that we can now undertake a complete liberalization? I do not think that the conditions are right yet, so I believe we should incorporate wage increases into businessmen's profit taxes by creating three different rates of tax; thus we could somewhat regulate the huge wage differentials that result from the monopoly held by certain enterprises.

[J. Kiss] The employees and employers of the Interest Coordination Council are drifting further and further away from the government's ideas....

[Gyula Kiss] I think the time has come to clarify and regulate the areas where the Interest Coordination Council can make decisions and report its opinions, and it would also be a good idea to find out whose interests the different sides in this council actually represent. We would like a well-functioning and legitimate Interest Coordination Council to carry on with its work, because the council is not the government's enemy. On the contrary, the council is a useful partner for the government, because by consulting the council, the government could nationalize some of its decisions.

Council of Ministers Meets; Gulf, Baltics Viewed

AU2501130191 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Jan 91 pp 1-2

[Jan Forowicz report: "Order From the Very Beginning"]

[Excerpts] International events, rent for accommodation, the wages of local government employees, and student benefits were the chief topics of the Council of Ministers session on 22 January. The talks were chaired by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, who drew attention not only to the good content of speeches, but also proper discipline during the proceedings.

The Council heard a speech by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who discussed the political events in the Middle East. National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk also spoke about the war around the Persian Gulf.

Minister Skubiszewski read a report on the talks between the foreign ministers of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary in Budapest on 21 January. The Council of Ministers stressed the importance of regional cooperation between these countries. It said that this cooperation should be given a new dimension by the meeting of presidents and prime ministers due to be held in Visegrad soon.

K. Skubiszewski reported on the talks so far on abolishing the military structures of the Warsaw Pact and dissolving this Pact altogether. He also touched upon the question of new bilateral agreements with the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, instead of the previous alliances.

In addition, the Council of Ministers discussed the situation in the Baltic republics. It acquainted itself with an analysis of the events, and reaffirmed its previous stance on this issue. Poland is conducting intensive political dialogue with each of these republics.

Commenting on this part of the session from the point of view of the Ministry of National Defense, Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, national defense minister, told RZECZPOSPOLITA: "An analysis of the situation surrounding Poland and the Persian Gulf indicates that there is no military threat to our country. According to the most optimistic scenario, the situation should be resolved in a few weeks; however, the war may last longer and turn into a protracted, mercenary war. According to the worst scenario, one should expect an end to the war in the autumn.

"The Poles must take these conflicts into account. But everything indicates that we can concentrate more on our own problems. We should make the most of time to deal with the most important matters—i.e. an improvement of the economy.

"That is our opinion today. We do not forget the possibility that the Iraq conflict may spread. Various scenarios of future events and various ways of reacting are being examined, but for the time being it is not worth giving them more attention than they deserve. The most general conclusion: We are still dealing with our most important internal matters." [passage omitted]

At the end of the session, Michal Boni, minister of labor and social policy, briefed the Council of Ministers on the current negotiations with the trade unions, and presented proposals on improving negotiation procedures.

An attempt to impose discipline on the deliberations of the Council of Ministers succeeded. Journalists were quick to notice that the prime minister attaches great importance to organization. Emerging from the conference room, J.K. Bielecki told RZECZPOSPOLITA: "The agenda was properly organized; in other words, the items that had been prepared sufficiently far in advance were discussed before the so-called miscellaneous issues. Every organizer knows that too many unforeseen items on the agenda can completely alter the character of a meeting and decrease its efficiency.

"We have also moved forward the time of meetings so that the media can quickly inform society about all the government's decisions," J.K. Bielecki continued. "Although these are elementary matters, they have to be taken care of. Order introduced at the very beginning permits an orderly finale...."

Foreign Ministry Summons Iraqi Ambassador

LD2501234191 Warsaw PAP in English 1732 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—Ambassador of Iraq to Poland Muhammad Fadl Husayn al-Habbubi was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here on Jan. 24 to hear Poland's stand on the necessity to observe the Geneva conventions on the protection of military personnel and civilians during war, the Hague conventions on conducting military operations on land and sea and on the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical and biological weapons.

The ambassador was also presented the stand of Poland's Government condemning Iraqi missile attacks on Israel.

Foreign Ministry 'Satisfied' With Soviet Message

LD2601050491 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is satisfied with the explanation by the spokesman of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs who says that the development of good-neighborly relations with Poland is fundamental and is not subject to circumstantial changes. Poland views its relations with the Soviet Union in the same way, runs the statement by our own Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Poll on Bielecki Government: 'Optimism Prevails'

AU2801103991 Warsaw PAP in English 0908 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 24—The latest poll conducted this month by the Public Opinion Research Centre shows that Poland's present political situation is sized up as good (36 percent) as often as average (33 percent). More rarely the respondents said that it was bad (14 percent).

Optimism prevails in predictions for the coming two years: about half of the respondents expect Poland's political situation to improve in this period (47 percent). Eighteen percent of the respondents think that it will remain unchanged and 8 percent of them think that it will worsen.

Asked whether, generally speaking, the situation in Poland went in a good or bad direction, respondents most often said good (43 per cent), 23 per cent of the respondents answered that, on the contrary, it went in a bad direction and the remaining 34 per cent did not have their opinion on the matter.

Reportage on Developments in ROAD Congress

Protests Soviet Actions in Baltics

LD2701123691 Warsaw PAP in English 1120 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 27—In its resolution adopted here today, the first Congress of the Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action [ROAD] expressed its firm protest against the intervention of the Soviet troops in Lithuania and Latvia.

Participants in the Congress appealed to the Sejm, Senate, Poland's president and the Council of Ministers to reconsider the possibility of a legal recognition of the Republic of Lithuania as a sovereign entity of the international law and of the establishment of full diplomatic relations with this republic.

In another resolution the Congress expressed "great respect for the people of Israel who bravely and patienly bear the acts of brutal aggresssion on the part of Iraq."

Split Over Mazowiecki

LD2801001891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Text] As we have already reported, the first day of the ROAD [Citizens Movement-Democratic Action] congress has obliged the movement's authorities to organize a unification congress with the Democratic Union. Today Zbigniew Bujak announced the creation of a club of ROAD members who are in favor of the separateness of the movement. Eighty delegates joined it, and there are more applications In reply to a question as to whether it was breaking away, he replied: Not yet. In his opinion this signified a distancing of themselves from Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Wladyslaw Frasynuik did not perceive important programatic or ideological differences in the meeting hall. In his opinion it was precisely the union, that created the chance to win the greatest electorate in parliamentary elections. Lech Walesa alone would gain from the divisions and would be able to play all the cards. Then all we could do would be to meet in the Belweder palace at the meeting of the political council, which can only remind one of an open studio, Frasyniuk said.

The ROAD congress adopted a statement in which the holding of parliamentary elections as speedily as possible was demanded. councils, teams, or committees appointed in an arbitary manner, not being responsible to anyone, and not possessing any explicit competency, cannot replace a democratically elected parliaemnt, we read in the statement.

Elections to the supreme authorities of ROAD are being held. This evening the election of the chairman is expected. [Warsaw PAP in English at 1807 GMT on 27 January adds in a Warsaw-datelined report: "A group of delegates for the 'ROAD' congress presented a proposal of a resolution against the draft anti-abortion law. The congress voted against the taking of a stand on that issue."]

Frasyniuk Elected Chairman

LD2801002591 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2120 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Excerpt] A decision to maintain political separateness, and on the future unification with the Democratic Union, a statute, as well as newly elected authorities were the main results of the first ROAD [Citizens Movement-Democratic Action] congress. A Supreme Council with 60 members was elected. The most votes were gained by Jacek Kuron, 211, and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk was in second place, 205 votes. He also became the ROAD chairman. He was the only candidate, as Jacek Kuron, also proposed for chairman, did not agree to stand. [passage omitted]

Congress Ends

LD2801020691 Warsaw PAP in English 2207 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 27—The Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD] will remain a separate political party with its own statute, authorities, political identity and programme, the "ROAD" congress which debated here on Jan. 26 and 27 decided.

The congress obliged the "ROAD" statute authorities to undertake steps aimed at holding a unification congress with the Democratic Union.

The congress opted for early parliamentary elections.

The delegates appealed to the Polish authorities to reconsider the possibilities for recognizing Lithuania as a separate state and establishing full diplomatic relations with her.

The congress expressed recognition for the Israeli nation that bravely and patiently bears the acts of brutal aggression from Iraq (both resolutions given separately).

The congress elected Wladyslaw Frasyniuk leader of the "ROAD" chief council for a two-year term. Frasyniuk firmly supports the unification of "ROAD" with the Democratic Union.

Prime Minister Meets Local Leaders in Gdansk

LD2801011891 Warsaw PAP in English 2056 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 27—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki met here today with presidents, mayors and governors of local towns and communal districts as well as with representatives of self-governments from Elblag, northern Poland, Warsaw and the south-western city of Wroclaw.

The discussion covered both general problems in the functioning of self-governments and local issues that require assistance from the government.

Among crucial issues to be solved the participants in the meeting listed the question of reducing debts of communal districts, housing and ecological problems, and the legal settlement of disputes on competences between self-governments and governmental administration.

Prime Minister Bielecki opted for a strong state administration and a more solid position of provincial governors, and, at the same time, for broad financial and legislative assistance for self-governments.

The prime minister also underlined that while accepting assistance from the outside, self-governments have to work out plans for financial projects in a professional way.

While in Gdansk Prime Minister Bielecki met with ordinary of the Gdansk Diocese Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski.

Sejm Appoints New National Bank President

LD2501120191 Warsaw PAP in English 1054 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 25—Economist Grzegorz Wojtowicz, 44, has been appointed by the Sejm (Parliament) to the office of president of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) with 230 votes in favour, 9 against, and 68 abstentions.

Wojtowicz, the bank's vice-president under its former chief Wladyslaw Baka who resigned, was recommended to the post by President Lech Walesa and received the support of the Sejm Committee for Economic Policy, Budget, and Finance.

Defense Minister Queried on Gulf, Domestic Issues

AU2601210391 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 Jan 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Defense Minister General V.A. Stanculescu by Andrei Alexandru; place and date not given: "the Heat of Events in the World and in Romania"; first paragraph is ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] Taking into consideration the fact that the recent events are connected with military power, we turned with a few questions to Romania's defense minister, Colonel General V. A. Stanculescu.

[Alexandru] As an expert on military issues, how long do you think the Gulf war will last?

[Stanculescu] This war has a stated and clear motive—namely, to liberate Kuwait—and another one, which we can list under the chapter guesses: the continuation of actions against Iraq until the destruction of its military power. The Iraqi people could play an important role in ending the war, by changing the country's leadership if this leadership does not understand that the sacrifices to which he submits his own people are too big. From an optimistic viewpoint, therefore, which takes into consideration a change in Iraq's position, I believe that the war will last three-four weeks. If the Iraqi Army engages in a serious struggle—taking into consideration the potential of the ground troops—with all the supremacy of the allied nations' air force, the war can last two-three months. I say this in the belief that no other international complication will occur.

[Alexandru] So far, Iraq has not given any convincing response as proof of its leader's statements made before the outbreak of the war.

[Stanculescu] There are two variations on this issue, too: Either Iraq has good ground combat deployment and is expecting the final battle to be a ground battle—if the "electronic war" and the air forces of the allied nations fail to find another solution—or the statements of the Iraqi leadership regarding its military potential prove to lack a real base. As far as the first variation is concerned, the Iraqis might hope for a period of respite—namely, for the moment when the allied forces will have to renew the ammunition and missile supply of their units. I believe the attacks carried out in the initial days required enormous material resources that have to be renewed.

[Alexandru] What concrete military measures have been taken in our country after the outbreak of the war?

[Stanculescu] The Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior have increased the watch over economic and military objectives, embassies, and, in general, all establishments that might be potential targets for terrorist attacks.

[Alexandru] Recently, the Hungarian Government has been concerned with improving the potential of its Army. Is this concern not at variance with agreements reached among the participants in the Warsaw Pact?

[Stanculescu] No, it is not, because this means only a qualitative change and not a quantitative change in the Hungarian military technology. We are also concerned with this problem but, for the time being, our financial resources are poor.

[Alexandru] During a television program, General Cheler said that paramilitary groups consisting of Hungarian ethnics were discovered in Transylvania, in process of training. What additional information can you tell us about this issue?

[Alexandru] For the time being I am waiting for a complete report from General Cheler; when I get this report I promise to give you more details.

[Alexandru] Mr. Minister, lately there have been rumors about a meeting that you held with the former King Mihai in Switzerland. What can you tell us about this meeting?

[Stanculescu] The Americans use the expression: "No Comment."

[Alexandru] On the basis of this "no comment" there will be many speculations. I personally do not believe that this is the right time for speculations in connection with the minister of national defense, therefore I insist on asking this question.

[Stanculescu] Very soon you will be able to see our position stated in the program "Pro Patria", a position that President Iliescu and Prime Minister Roman know very well.

[Alexandru] Returning to the potential of our Army, what else can you tell us on this issue?

[Stanculescu] We turned to the governments of various Western countries to work out a plan for the future. In this respect we requested NATO's agreement in principle. We are waiting for a favorable response to purchase military means from France, Italy, and Germany within the limits of the amount approved for the basic technology.

[Alexandru] What was your role within the delegation that visited China?

[Stanculescu] Given the fact that I paid an official visit to China in October, we wish to maintain the contact that we achieved then. China recently gained access to modern technologies and we told them that we would be interested in certain categories of weapons with a high level of performance.

[Alexandru] Do you still have discipline problems such as the one caused by the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army [CADA]?

[Stanculescu] The newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA is the one that is used to publishing all kinds of communiques

by phantom committees within the Army. As a matter of fact, these committees do not exist. Compared with other former communist countries, from the point of view of our young people's situation and the way in which military service is carried out, we are doing very well. Next fall we will carry out our fall maneuvers to verify the level of our whole Army's training. All types of Army units will take part in these maneuvers, without it being meant as a demonstration of force. This will only be an opportunity to draw the necessary conclusions for the future.

Iraqi Embassy Issues Communique on Gulf War

AU2501145791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2215 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1991—"U.S. air forces and those of its allies bombed two oil tankers in the Gulf. The huge quantity of oil drained into the Gulf waters will destroy the sea fauna in the respective zone, with nefarious effects on the environment, says a communique of the Embassy of the Republic of Iraq in Bucharest, quoting an Iraqi military spokesman. Iraq launched an appeal to international organizations, asking them to disavow the aggression of the U.S. and its allies.

The communique also mentions that President Saddam Husayn visited on 23 January 1991 the southern front where he met with officers and soldiers who said they were prepared to fight to defend their homeland."

Summary of Prime Minister's Visit to Turkey

AU2601142691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1155 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1991—Prime Minister Petre Roman began his visit to Turkey Thursday morning, 24 January, at Ankara and concluded it on Friday evening in Istanbul. His visit was of special importance for the relations between the two countries as it gave them the opportunity to put in practice their mutual wish to develop cooperation under the new political developments in the area. Towards the end of their visit, the Romanian delegation were the guests of Istanbul, where they met local officials, businessmen, industrialists with whom they examined the means to capitalize the present and prospective potential of the two countries for their joint interest. The agreements reached on the occasion prove that these countries' wish to extend their relations is not just a conjectural move, but expresses their actual needs. As the Romanian prime minister noted on his arrival at Bucharest, "for the past ten years, Turkey has been struggling with a situation similar with ours, that is with the transition from a planned economy to a market economy, with the difference that Turkey was not handicapped from the start by a state of economic blocking, as we are."

Turkey's President Turgut Ozal expressed the interesting viewpoint that "it would be useful to mark not only Turkey's successes in its economic reform, but also its mistakes, so that Romania could avoid them".

Politically, the Romanian prime minster's visit gave the two sides the opportunity to state their stands on the main aspects of international life, particularly the Gulf crisis and the Balkan area.

Delegates' Statements Upon Return

AU2601171591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1600 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/991—On his arrival from the two-days' visit to Turkey, Prime Minister Petre Roman stated his satisfaction for the easy communication the Romanian delegation had in many respects with the Turkish leadership with whom they have already reached profitable agreements for both sides.

"As is known, Turkey's economy has been struggling, for the past ten years, with a situation similar with ours, that is with the transition from a planned economy to a market economy. With the difference that Turkey was not handicapped from the start by a state of economic blocking, as we are. From this point of view, we have seen many things of great interest, said the Romanian prime minister, showing that Romanian top executives are expected in Turkey, in some of its key economic sectors, to learn crucial aspects for the reform in Romania. We have struck an agreement for a 50 million dollar limited credit and a long term flexible credit for Romanian imports of Turkish products, purporting to perform the double role of opening new markets to Turkish producers and giving Romanian manufacturers access to whatever materials they may need. The credit may be extended if import-export operations so require.

In international politics, it is known that Romania supports the multinational force operating now in the Gulf and, in this respect, it is obvious that our viewpoint is very close to that of Turkey. Turkey feels very close to us and their idea, of a so-called Black Sea zone, can become a real thing, mainly if Romania and Turkey join their efforts, ended the prime minister.

In his turn, Finance Minister Theodor Stolojan, member of the delegation, views the signing of an agreement on mutual guarantees for investments as a juridical instrument apt to protect both Turkey's investments in Romania and Romanian investments in Turkey. He said he was favorably impressed by the desire of Turkish businessmen to make business in Romania and to invest in this country.

Another member of the delegation, Mr. Dan Pascariu, president of the Romanian bank for foreign trade, referred to the agreement on the opening of a credit line by Turkey for Romanian imports of machine-tools, technology and other products from Turkey and issued the opinion that "the banking facilities recently instated in Romania will contribute to the development of business relations and will attract business people from

Turkey and other countries to invest in Romania in sectors of top priority for us."

Interior Minister Comments on Return From Vienna

AU2601142591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1314 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1991—In a statement to ROMPRES, Interior Minister Doru Viorel Ursu, recently returned from the Vienna Ministerial Conference on the Movement of Persons from Central and Eastern Europe, found the conference "useful on the background of human migrations of a particular magnitude" and appreciated the participants' effort to probe into the real motives of immigration. He said it was clear for everybody that as far as Romania was concerned, people leave for economic, not political reasons.

"The conference comes a little late, the migration phenomenon was predictable, but at least now matters were approached on a much wider plane, the East-West migration hardly being at present the only drive entailing specific consequences. The whole international situation is of such complexity, allowing for almost unpredictable developments from day to day. At a close examination of the conference's final document, it becomes obvious that there is willingness to coordinate efforts so that new limitations are avoided, and no "iron curtain" is raised again, this time from the West. The efforts are directed towards finding the legal instruments in perfect consonance with all United Nations, CSCE and Council of Europe conventions. However, such regulations would have to deal with aspects rendered delicate either by interests or interpretation".

Joint Hungarian Trade, Payments Convention Held

AU2401212391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1991—On January 23 a convention on trade and payments taking effect on 1 January 1991 was signed in Budapest by the Government of Romania and the Government of the Republic of Hungary, says a press release of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism.

Starting from the wish of the two governments to strengthen, develop and facilitate trading relations between their two countries, based on equal rights and mutual advantage and in compliance with international trade regulations, the document states that deliveries of goods and services will be based on contracts concluded between Romanian and Hungarian juristical and natural persons at international market prices, with payments in hard currency.

The document also stipulates the setting up of a joint commission to examine the steps necessary for backing and further developing economic and trade relations between the two countries.

The convention takes effect on a period of five years, and its validity is automatically prolonged over periods of one year.

For the Romanian party the document was signed by Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism.

For the Hungarian party, the document was signed by Bela Kadar, minister of foreign economic relations.

On the same occasion, the protocol was signed between Romania's Government and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on the liquidation of debts and liabilities of the two parties in the payments relations existing at 31 December 1990.

Senators Comment on Status of Hungarian Minority

AU2401151691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with Senate Deputy Chairman Karoly Kiraly and Senator Lajos Demeny by Peter Mag in Bucharest in January 1991: "Romania: The People Have Learned, the Government Has Not"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] During the past few weeks, several events have taken place in Romania that indicate certain changes in the country. Examples of such events were the visit of former King Mihai of Romania, the announcement of a price liberalization, its subsequent withdrawal, and the protests in Timisoara and Bucharest. Our correspondent in Bucharest interviewed two prominent Hungarian figures in Romania, Karoly Kiraly and Lajos Demeny, and asked them how they viewed recent developments. [passage omitted]

[Mag] Mr. Kiraly, allow me to ask you: In the light of domestic political developments in Romania during the last two or three weeks, how do you view the situation?

[Kiraly] The events that took place over the last two or three weeks were in harmony with the events that took place last year. The most burning issue is still whether or not there will be a return to order in Romania. Following lengthy deliberation, I can tell you that there will be no return to order. The reason why there will be no return is because we have not even moved far enough away from that thing called Communism to require a return to former circumstances. In principle, we have somewhat moved away from previous circumstances, but it has basically only been a change of direction. Still, a clear distancing is to be seen in two or three areas. For example, one of the most important changes is that today—despite any beliefs to the contrary—there really is a free press in Romania. The second great change has

been experienced in Romania's system of institutions, particularly since the elections in May 1990. Very little has changed in Romania's executive power, however, and that applies to both the central and the local level. In certain links of the state apparatus chain we can speak of a straightforward retreat—even in comparison to the things that formally existed during the Ceausescu dictatorship. I am thinking primarily of local bodies, the mechanisms according to which these bodies are appointed, directed, and controlled. Indeed, at the moment, Romania's counties are directed by government-appointed prefects and prefectures. When appointing these bodies, the government nearly always flagrantly ignored each individual county's election results in 1990. This particularly affects the proportioned and democratic representation of national minorities in the country's administration. In addition, the local bodies that have been appointed in this way only listen upward: They only hear what the government has to say, and they are deaf to opinions coming from "below." [passage omitted]

[Mag] How could Hungarians in Romania achieve political results?

[Kiraly] One should be honest about positive elements as well as negative ones. Taking everything into account, I am fundamentally optimistic about our situation and our future prospects. Indeed, the political atmosphere is maturing—in Parliament as well as in the entire country—and this process will create the appropriate conditions for patience, calm, and greater humaneness in society, as well as in relations between national groups. [passage omitted]

[Mag] Mr. Demeny, how do you view the current situation in Romania?

[Demeny] The situation has visibly changed, extensive modifications have taken place. The government measures taken in connection with the surprise Christmas visit of former King Mihai of Romania caused a scandal, and this forced the governing political power—the National Salvation Front—as well as the government to make certain retreats. In connection with the [former] King's visit, and a few days earlier, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Timisoara revolution, Parliament speeches made by government party members met with quite a lot of protest among the population. [passage omitted]

[Demeny] The government now has to count not only on the spontaneous resistance of the population, but also on the increasingly resolute actions of the Civic Alliance.

[Mag] Does that increase the possibilities of national minorities in this country?

[Demeny] Not really. In my opinion, the National Salvation Front and the government do not want to—and are not even capable of—gaining a better understanding of the national minority issue. This is the area where the struggle is the hardest, and this situation will persist. There is no prospect of a positive change in Romania's education policy. As far as the education authorities are concerned, we do not even have the things that we—formally—had during the Ceausescu regime. For example, during the Ceausescu regime, there was a state secretary for national minorities in the Education Ministry, but today we do not even have a ministerial chief educational inspector. Up until July 1990, we had a fair amount of success in establishing Hungarian- language teaching, and fortunately, in the provincial education network, these achievements have been safeguarded; hopefully, they will continue to be maintained in the future.

RMDSZ Official Queried on Minority Activity

AU2401122591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Jan 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Geza Szocs, general secretary of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, by Lovas; place and date not given: "Christian Democratic and Liberal Ties"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Few people have considered so far that the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] is the largest Hungarian political party, with its membership of several hundred thousand people and an electorate of 1.75 million people, a party that well "exceeds" the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats. The RMDSZ foreign policy contacts and views represent a unique aspect. We asked Geza Szocs about these views and contacts.

[Lovas] Apart from its contacts in Hungary, what foreign contacts does the RMDSZ have?

[Szocs] The international contacts of a political party are primarily determined by the ideology of the party in question. The RMDSZ is a special organization; in fact, it is a unit working as a coalition of various ideological trends—at least so far. So far, therefore, the RMDSZ has refrained from establishing spectacular contacts with any political party in the classic sense of the word. Instead, the RMDSZ has been seeking contacts with foreign parties that are similar in their structure to the RMDSZ, like the Swedish People's Party in Finland or the party of Tirolian Austrians in Italy. These two parties are members in the European Democratic Union [EDU], an organization with a Christian democratic profile. Besides, according to reliable sociological estimates, a considerable proportion of the people who voted for the RMDSZ are close to the conservative approach characteristic of the Christian democratic movement.

[Lovas] Is all this concretely reflected in the RMDSZ foreign policy?

[Szocs] This made it natural for the RMDSZ to approach the parties gathered in the EDU, and we often discussed this during our leadership meetings. We also discussed the need for the RMDSZ to ask for an observer status in

the European organization of various liberal parties. We are planning to have observer status in these organizations. A strong debate was carried out in the RMDSZ presidium on determining the organizations that also recognize group rights, in addition to individual rights. As a result of all these considerations, the RMDSZ will ask for observer status in EDU as a party, and one of the strongest organization within the RMDSZ—the Association of Hungarian Youth Organizations—will ask for observer status in the European Liberal Union. Besides, I am an elected senator of the aforementioned Association of Hungarian Youth Organizations in the Romanian Parliament in Bucharest.

[Lovas] Are these steps official?

[Szocs] Partly. The final decisions will be made in the very near future.

[Lovas] Do you not seek contacts with specific political parties abroad?

[Szocs] So far, we have refrained from this, and we have been neutral in this respect. We understood that the Western European parties were primarily seeking official contacts with the Romanian ruling party, the National Salvation Front [FSN] in the current confusion prevailing in Romania.

[Lovas] From an organizational viewpoint, how are foreign affairs handled within the RMDSZ? Do you have a clear foreign policy concept and an apparatus in charge of carrying this out?

[Szocs] Yes, we do. That is, our foreign policy staff, a group in charge of our foreign image and of contacts with the mass media is currently being set up. This team is now prepared to be active.

[Lovas] Who is the RMDSZ "foreign minister?"

[Szocs] Erno Borbely, our foreign affairs secretary. He is a social scientist from Csikszereda [Miercurea Ciuc] who spent five years in Ceausescu's prisons in the 1980's. Mr. Borbely is presently a parliamentary representative on behalf of the RMDSZ, and he can be found in Bucharest or in the General Secretariat of the RMDSZ in Kolozsvar [Cluj].

[Lovas] Has your party already set up any representation office abroad?

[Szocs] This also depends on our finances. Contrary to statements published in the Romanian press, our financial means are limited. We hardly have financial means to cover our foreign travel which has become extremely expensive, let alone opening representations abroad. We also have problems with our technical background, and our translation capacity is also limited; however, we naturally want to set up representational offices abroad, but this is primarily a political decision.

[Lovas] In your view, how can one characterize the current Romanian foreign policy trends?

[Szocs] Romania enjoyed the full support of the world at large following Ceausescu's fall. One year after the events, however, Romania succeeded in again reaching the nearly total foreign policy isolation characteristic of Ceausescu's last years. The most painful point for the leadership in Bucharest is that the traditionally pro-French Romanian political feelings have suffered a very serious blow because the relevant political, intellectual, and cultural circles in Paris clearly support the Romanian opposition, an opposition which the current Romanian leadership would prefer to force into the background, and I mean here primarily the Liberal Party and the Group for Social Dialogue. Thus, relations with France no longer have the same political basis as they had for most of this century. The similar political past and future of the two countries' leadership would make the Soviet Union a sympathetic neighbor from many points of view, but the Bessarabia issue does not allow them to be allies. Unfortunately, I must say that Romania has very bad relations with almost all its neighbors.

Parliamentarians Meet Visiting FIDESZ Group

AU2401095791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2226 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/1/1991—Members of the Human Rights, Cults and National Minorities Affairs Commission of the Assembly of Deputies, met on January 23 at the Parliament House in Bucharest with a delegation of the Democratic Youth Alliance of Hungary (FIDESZ) [Federation of Young Democrats], headed by Viktor Orban, leader of the party's parliamentary group, now on a visit in Romania.

During the discussions, they approached questions regarding the national minorities' rights in the two countries, the guarantees of expression and the freedom of conscience. The mutual wish was expressed to expand the contacts between the two countries' parliaments and parliamentarians.

FDGR Member on 'Stabilizing' German Minority

AU2501211191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2031 GMT 25 Jan 91

["Political Life: Ingmar Brandtch: "We Are Interested in Persuading the German Population To Stay on in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1991—"Both the Romanian and the German Government are interested in stabilising the about 90,000 individuals of the German minority in Romania," said Ingmar Brandtch, member of the Parliament and leader of the German Democratic Forum of Romania (GDFR) [FDGR]. The Romanian side has set up a governmental advisory commission headed by a counselor to the prime minister and including five members of our forum. The commission is pursuing mainly economic aims, purporting to attract German capital to back economic initiatives in

the areas lived in by ethnic Germans, assuming that a revigoration of the economic life could have a stabilising effect. Now we are contemplating the opening in Bucharest, perhaps, of a German-Romanian Bank with subsidiaries in Sibiu, Brasov and Timisoara, likely to finance local projects in the interest of all local population, not only Germans.

The same commission assisted the GDFR in solving a number of cultural needs of the German minority, educational mainly. To this effect, the Romanian and the German sides concluded an agreement for a number of teachers sent from Germany at the beginning of the school year running to fill in for the German-language staff in German-language schools in Romania. The Romanian side also accepted the assistance with teaching aids and modern educational appliances, given by certain institutions in Germany.

Mr. Brandtch also mentioned the reparations the GDFR has had in view ever since its foundation (December 1989) for the German population that had to suffer, indiscriminately, from a global accusation of Nazism after the Second World War. At the GDFR's initiative, a law was recently passed (13 December 1990) which extends to the survivors of the over 70,000 ethnic Germans deported after 1945 to the Soviet Union the provisions of the law stipulating reparations to the former political prisoners of the communist regime, that is the reconsideration, for pension rights, of their length of service by adding one and a half year for each year of detention and the payment of 200 lei for each month of imprisonment. The recently completed land law enacts the restoration of the property right to the ethnic Germans, who were, without exception, expropriated at the end of the war. One other right they now enjoy is that of keeping their properties in Romania even if they choose to immigrate.

Asked to state the number of the ethnic Germans that last year emigrated from Romania, he estimated them at over 100,000, who, for the most part, had applied for definitive settlement before December 1989. Many youths however left before 1 June 1990 when it was found out that after that date the German authorities intended to change the settlement procedure by requesting the applicants to wait for the settlement approval in their country of origin. However, in November 1990, the German Ministry of the Interior still had on record some 30,000 applications from ethnic Germans in Romania. At the same time, the GDFR has established relations with Romania-born Germans' associations in Germany, Austria and the U.S.A. and intends to propose concrete cooperation projects to their representatives under the aegis of the afore-said governmental commission.

Speaking of the draft constitution, Mr. Brandtch was appreciative of the way it reflects part of the concepts put forth lately in the CSCE process, more exactly in the Final Document issued at Copenhagen last spring, but made it clear that the Romanian version should be improved so as to include all aspects, all nuances, as they appear in the original version. To this effect, the GDFR is now drawing up a draft of the minorities law, to be submitted to the constituent assembly during the debates on the draft constitution. "We and the other minorities, represented to Parliament by a compact parliamentary group, have common viewpoints, and we have recently had an exchange of opinions with the UDMR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania] on the matter."

Lastly, referring to human rights in Romania, Mr. Ingmar Brandtch said: "We are not all very well aware of what this means for our daily life and I think this holds true both for the citizens and for the power. We all have a lot to learn about this."

Minister Fota on Regulations To Stimulate Exports

AU2401181491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1642 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1991—According to recent regulations adopted by the government, import-export activities in Romania are based on the independent action of economic agents, with no arbitrary constraint whatever imposed from the central level, Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism, told a news conference. As for export, he added, the access to foreign markets is made under the conditions of the market economy, in compliance with the GATT regulations and with the commitments Romania assumed by bi- and multilateral accords and agreements. The trade balance is regulated by mechanisms working on world markets customs taxes, quota, surtaxes, etc.. As for customs taxes, the minister said that, as of January 1991, they became effective, were based on a well-matched system, and were applied uniformly and non- discriminatory to both export and import, being used as one of the main instruments of the trade policy. Export and import operations are made, based on three kinds of licences issued by the Ministry of Trade and tourism, that is "A" licences, issued without restrictions and "s" and "c" licences for products considered to be "special" or "essential" for the national economy, and that are subject to temporary quota. As was shown, the regime of imports is virtually totally liberalized, the only restriction that operates being the funding. As for exports, quotas are used for a limited number of products to protect home consumers.

Measures are in view to promote exports. They refer to the state bearing 70 percent of hard currency costs, representing the participation of economic agents to fair markets, exhibitions and other promotional actions, to partial or total cuts of forwarding taxes for materials used in the production of export goods, cuts of customs taxes or their reimbursement in the "draw-back" system, credits from the state budget to fund reduced interests' exports. As for the hard currency regime, 50 percent of the hard currency collected is kept by the economic

agents, the remaining 50 percent being deposited in the bank and are changed for "lei" at the rate of exchange current at the respective moment.

Decision on Taxes Payable by Foreign Companies

AU2401202091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1901 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1991—Under a decision of the Romanian Government, the regime of dues and taxes was established applicable to the representations to Romania of foreign commercial companies or economic organizations as well as the rights and obligations regarding the Romanian personnel's payment.

This normative act specifies that, in order to carry on activity, the representations of foreign commercial companies and economic organizations to Romania ought to request the Ministry of Trade and Tourism to give them operational licences for which they shall pay 1,200 dollars in convertible currency. The licences are valid for one year and to extend them the same annual tax shall be paid. The decision also mentions that the foreign commercial companies and economic organizations shall pay a tax on incomes, while the annual tax quotas are set function of incomes. The decision also shows that the full or partial non-declaration of the incomes got in Romania by the aforesaid representations is a contravention punishable through a fine. The dues, taxes and the potential fines shall be paid in lei derived from hard currency exchange at the rates set on the payment date.

A special chapter of the new normative act includes the rights and duties of the employees of the foreign commercial companies and economic organizations. It specifies that the personnel is employed according to the law only on an individual labour contract basis which establishes the parties' principal rights and duties.

To this end, the labour office shall see to it that the labour contracts, the wages in hard currency and the other rights should be established in accordance with the law in force. The foreign commercial companies and economic organizations shall also pay in hard currency the contribution to social security for the Romanian or foreign citizens with residence in Romania. The contribution to additional pension is paid by the Romanian citizens.

This decision is applicable accordingly both to the Romanian and to the foreign citizens employed by the subsidiaries of foreign and joint banks, by offices of foreign transport companies, by representations of foreign tourism agencies and charity organizations.

Antigovernment Rally in Timisoara Reported

AU2501213591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2057 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1991—Friday afternoon Timisoara's Opera Square was the venue of a meeting staged by the "17 Decembrie" [December] Association of the wounded and the bereaved families following the December 1989 revolution. The speakers protested, inter alia, against the way in which the law regarding the protection of the wounded and of the descendants of the revolution's victims was elaborated, against the use of the "Libertatea" ["Liberty"] account for other goals than those for which it was opened and meant for and, more particularly, against the fact that, though more than a year has passed since the revolution, the truth about the events has not been brought to the fore yet. Among the invitees of the organizing association were Messrs. Ticu Dumitrescu and Nica Leon who also addressed the crown from the platform in front of the Opera House. During the meeting antigovernmental, anticommunist and antipresidential slogans were chanted. The association's leaders just as the other speakers showed their solidarity with the "Timisoara" Trade Union Federation leaders and with other TU leaders who have gone on hunger strike.

Deputies' Assembly Approves Land Law

AU2401095291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2234 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/1/1991—The Assembly of Deputies approved, Wednesday, 23 January, by open vote, the land law, with 249 votes for, none against and 29 abstentions.

In the morning session, the Assembly debated three items of the land bill, which had been remanded, a few days before, to the competent commission for rewording by the amendments proposed in the assembly and were now passed in their new version.

Prior to voting, the bill as a whole, representatives of the various parliamentary groups took the floor on the land bill. All or them expressed their favorable position to it except for the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party group which declared against and the two fractions of the National Liberal Party which stated their intention to abstain.

In the afternoon, the Assembly continued workings by commissions remaining to meet in plenum the following morning.

Trial of Former Communist Leaders Continues

AU2501155291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0917 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1991—The hearing of the prosecution's witnesses by the Military Court of Bucharest in the trial of the former politburo members for the charge of genocide continued Thursday, January 24.

Witness Maria Ionescu was shown a Xerox-copy of the transcript of the December 17, 1989 Politburo meeting she had taken down in shorthand, which is the main

document in the indictment. She confirmed the copy was identical with the original and that it accurately reflected the contents of the talks.

According to the transcript, during the meeting, Nicolae Ceausescu summed up the events in Timisoara and severely criticized his national defence minister, Colonel General Vasile Milea, his minister of the interior, Tudor Postelnicu, and the head of the State Security Department, Iulian Vlad, that, despite orders he had himself given, they had failed to take firm action and use war bullets so as to restore order. Nicolae Ceausescu then underlined that Timisoara events were extremely serious and jeopardized socialism in Romania and the country's independence; he said numerous foreign services were at work against the Romanian state, that the country was at war and all military units had to be in a state of emergency. In the end, the former dictator asked the Politburo members if they had clearly understood and if they agreed with the measures proposed, that is to use war bullets against those who were causing "trouble." Everybody present implicitly or explicitly approved.

The witness confirmed in court the full contents of her previous statement given to the investigating bodies during the early inquest. She said that the December 176, 1989 meeting had strongly affected her spirit. She had been particularly impressed by Elena Ceausescu's clearly declaring such action should have been taken as soon as events had started in Timisoara. She was heard to say: "We should have shot them down and sent the wounded to jail never to come out again."

In the same session, the court proceeded to the hearing of witness Tudor Postelnicu, who had been tried and was now carrying a life sentence alongside Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca and Manea Manescu for the crime of genocide. Due to the incoherent statement of the witness the court adjourned the hearing to Friday, January 25, at 9.30 hours.

Stock Exchange To Open in Bucharest

AU2501154391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0827 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1991—Under a government's resolution the National Bank of Romania is empowered to organize a stock exchange as a share corporation in the conditions of the law 31/1990 of commercial companies. The stock exchange will be set up so as to perform specific conditions as soon as technical conditions are put in place. The Bucharest stock exchange will have to provide conditions for the operation and implementation of a secondary capital market within the broader framework of the capital market in Romania.

To this end the stock exchange will create the legislative, institutional and organizational framework for operations in the capital market in Romania and will ensure the sale of its shares to the end of turning it into private property.

The expenses of the administration council of the stock exchange of Bucharest are subsidised by the National Bank until they are retrieved from the incomes of the stock exchange.

The setting up and operation of the stock exchange will be supported by the general secretariat of the Romanian Government.

* Finance Minister Sotlojan's 'Anxieties'

91BA0212A Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 5 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Dan Constantin article: "The Anxieties of a Poor Man"]

[Text] The policy of openness has been reaching the Ministry of Finance. The press conference held by Mr. Theodor Stolojan on the last working day of last year revealed that journalists, too, now have access to the ministry's "data bank," which until recently was kept away from scrutiny. The draft budget of the central administration for 1991 submitted to Parliament for debate and approval "will be the first real debate of a national budget since the war," Mr. Stolojan said. In view of the fact that the draft budget contains a 37 billion lei deficit in 1991, Parliament members will undoubtedly ask tough questions and the press conference was just some practice for the dialogue that the head of the Doamnei St. ministry will conduct with the legislation.

One preliminary observation is that the 1991 budget gave very precise figures concerning Romania's present economic crisis and on the negative processes that developed in the past year. A marked drop in industrial production (over 20 percent) and in exports (almost 50 percent) compared to 1989 brought about increased expenses per unit of product and lower budget revenues by 100 billion lei. The oil shock of mid-1990 caused by events in the Gulf and the disintegration of cooperation and payments within the dying CEMA had and continue to have a powerful negative impact on the equilibrium of Romania's economy, something that was reflected in the 1991 budget, too. The hypothesis—viewed as optimistic by the finance minister—calculated into the 1991 budget was that production will remain at the 1990 level and may even increase by 1 percent. It was pointed out that this is a realistic estimate and this is the basis on which the mechanism of the country's finances is expected to work. "Lack of experience in running a budget process in fluctuating conditions is not an excuse but a fact," Minister Stolojan added. Such fluctuating conditions are said to be on the one hand, the progress of the reform with its main component, price liberalization, and on the other, the pressure of demands for improvements that may influence the state's financial policy.

Referring to the size of the budget deficit, the finance minister stated that it is the consequence of the conflict between limited (material and financial) resources and high demand for funds for social-cultural expenditures, social protection, and defense. Analyzing the structure of

the budget deficit, the minister stated that it was "negative from an economic viewpoint," because it stemmed from the consumption sector, rather than the investment sector. The deficit reflects inflationary pressures and the finance minister is determined to "hold in check" this phenomenon and not exacerbate it by throwing more money into the market.

One characteristic of this veritable crisis budget for 1991 is drastic cuts in the volume of investments. While in 1989 investments totalled 130 billion lei (46 percent of budget expenditures) and in 1990 60 billion (20 percent of expenditures), in 1991 only 31 billion lei are earmarked for this sector, i.e., only 12 percent of expenditures. Demands for investment funds rose to 95 billion lei, so that paring them down to one third was not an easy operation. On the contrary! Even if demands for social sectors are justified, they have to be linked to the potential of the economy. However, understanding this simple truth is a bitter pill difficult to swallow for everyone. "Whatever we do, sooner or later we have to come into conflict with everyone," said with visible sadness the man responsible for the country's (meager) purse.

Mr. Stolojan also told representatives of Romanian and foreign press that the Finance Ministry also worked on a version of a balanced budget for 1991, which was based on the implementation of the second stage of price liberalization in January and on a higher level of taxation. However, that version is not operational, although we must remember that the "tax burden" is lower in Romania than in neighboring countries or in countries with similar economic situations—Bulgaria, Hungary, or Poland. Lowering taxes cannot be a long-term policy, and as the reform progresses the state will have to adopt measures to correct it. In this context, reducing the budget deficit is an effort for economic stability that requires time. The finance minister hinted that the budget deficit may be accepted as a solution next year, too, but the introduction of personal income tax (possibly as of 1993) and value added tax (as of 1992) will help mobilize important sources of central budget revenues.

"The year 1991 will be difficult for Romania," Mr. Stolojan said. But we must be realistic and that is why I think that this is a stage that we will be able to overcome." Arguments for moderate optimism? The real restructuring of the economy will be more extensive this year, thus alleviating some of the great burdens weighing down on the economy because of continued large volumes of expensive imports of raw materials, especially energy. The test of this management of the disequilibrium present in Romanian economy will be the salary liberalization accompanied by means of price control in correlation with increased productivity.

In view of the key position he holds in the administration of public funds, the finance minister is a "superminister," even though for strategic reasons Mr. Stolojan rejected that description. The problem is whether in 1991 the Finance Ministry will remain immune to (already foreseeable) pressures for additional expenditures. Of course, no one is hastening to offer additional budget revenues.

'Authoritaran' Systems Hinder Talks on Future

AU2701215291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Olivija Rusovac commentary from "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The crisis that we are going through at the moment unfortunately seems to confirm the idea that Yugoslavia can chose only between two possibilities: reform or dictatorship. Olivija Rusovac reports:

[Rusovac] The future of Yugoslavia is the most popular subject in the country. Since the appearance of federal and confederal models of the setup of Yugoslavia—and several months have passed since then—the future of Yugoslavia has been written and talked about all the time. Unfortunately, results and prospects stand in an inverse proportion and it seems that Yugoslavia has never been farther away from any hope, something upon which thoughts of future must be based. The day before yesterday, for one moment, Yugoslavia was, perhaps, really a country without a future.

With the appearance of the federal model of the country's setup, which is supported by Serbia and Montenegro, and the confederal model, which is backed by Slovenia and Croatia, with Macedonia getting nearer and nearer to them and Bosnia-Hercegovina remaining between the two concepts, the economic and social reform advocated by the Federal Government has almost completely died. The death of the reform coincides with the multiparty elections carried out in all republics, although the reform in fact relied on pluralism, that is, parliamentarianism.

What is happening in the republics is that they either have the presidential power strengthening at the expense of the power of the assembly, or—as in the case of Slovenia— the assembly is being used only to express the will of the ruling coalition, Demos [United Opposition]. Finally, the intention to push the assemblies aside is also expressed in the refusal to renew the Federal Assembly, that is, to adopt constitutional amendments on holding federal elections.

There are different ways of making republican assemblies express an antireformist mood. Republican assemblies are completely excluded from the talks on the future of the country, except in the case of the Slovene Assembly whose role is to verify Demos' moves against Yugoslavia.

In Yugoslavia, used to having one unquestionable ruler who decided the country's destiny by himself, now a new slogan is promoted: It is good that the talks about Yugoslavia have begun at all. One does not realize that the fate of Yugoslavia is again decided in the same way, only now there are six rulers instead of one. Such an exclusivity, typical of authoritarian systems, has no justification now that the republics have assemblies. The current passiveness of these assemblies concerning their stands on the destiny of the joint country has a fatal impact both on the public and the intelligentsia, because the necessary (?emanation) from the assembly does not exist.

The exclusive interpreters of the people's interests can get into a tragi-comical situation, as in the case of Slovenia: Demos has done everything to make the republic secede from Yugoslavia, but when Milan Kucan said in the assembly that Slovenia is now an autonomous and independent state, Demos people claimed that Kucan's statement was a thoughtless proclamation of independence. The case of the Croatian Assembly is the opposite: It obviously has no control at all, not even over state security, something that nearly led to a tragedy. In the Serbian Assembly only one deputy suggested that President Slobodan Milosevic should inform the parliament about his talks with other presidents about the future of the country.

In our situation, when holding a referendum on Yugoslavia's future would verge on madness, because it would cause new conflicts, assemblies acting in conformity with their basic function—the control of power—would have to create their own platforms on which republican presidents would hold talks. It is a regular procedure in the Federal Assembly that before a Yugoslav delegation leaves for international negotiations, the Assembly first adopts a platform. Why would this not be done by republican assemblies? It would not mean admitting that the country is confederalized, but would provide republican presidents with an additional legitimacy. Platforms would exclude the possibility of starting negotiations with maximalist demands, because they are now only making it difficult to find a joint solution.

Presidency Official Satisfied With Meeting

LD2601074491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0208 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—On his return to Sarajevo from Belgrade tonight, Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency, expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the SFRY Presidency session in Belgrade.

Bogicevic noted that the session was also attended by Croatia's top leadership and went on to emphasize the fact that the SFRY Presidency positions had been adopted unanimously. All this gives cause for optimism about the crisis in Yugoslavia and prospects for unravelling it peacefully and democratically. Those who have violated Yugoslavia's laws, however, will be called to account.

This session confirmed, Bogicevic continued, that the insinuations about plans within the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] for a coup did not hold water. The JNA has never overstepped its legal powers.

Bogicevic reiterated his optimism and went on to express his firm belief that Saturday the Croatian Assembly will

pass a decision calling on the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] at home and abroad not to hold planned protest meetings. This also will help calm the situation. [passage omitted]

Markovic on Dialogue, Peaceful Solution

LD2601190291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—It has been demonstrated once again that dialogue is the only way out of conflict situations. Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic said this in a conversation with TANJUG editors following the SFRY presidency's statement tonight on removing the causes of the tension and mistrust in the country. In this interview, which took place at the request of TANJUG—because the Federal Executive Council president performed the key role, in a sense, in enabling the dialogue to take place—Markovic stressed that solutions can be found once all the arguments, dilemmas, and fears have been presented.

Positive developments have begun in the country toward the democratic and peaceful solution of problems. This gives the Federal Executive Council [FEC] a great deal of satisfaction, Markovic said. We have embarked on a very dramatic stage of our reform and have to assess possibilities for living together in this country; therefore, the FEC has been carrying out a series of activities, culminating in its proposition for a minimum of functions in the country. On the one hand, the continuation of the reform process should be facilitated and the implementation of macroeconomic policies for 1991 should be ensured; and on the other hand the conditions and time should be provided for talks about the country's future—a dialogue based on specific programs and identifying the interests to be considered in these talks.

At the same time the situation regarding the relations of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] with Croatia's leadership had escalated, particularly regarding matters connected with the arming of police units and paramilitary organizations and the placing of the JNA in Croatia on alert. This escalation has led to an even more heated situation, threatening the democratic solution of events, which may develop into bloodshed and fratricidal war, the FEC president stressed.

Realizing that if events continue on their present course we might reach the point of no return, I decided to intervene directly, Markovic said. I decided to try and see what the fundamental controversial issues are, what the areas where mistrust has arisen, where we could find ways of attenuating, if not eliminating them, and creating room for dialogue. Also, I knew that as soon as a dialogue started it would have to have a positive outcome.

On the basis of this, the political- security section of the FEC cabinet, of which I am chairman and which consists of a number of departmental ministers, held an evening session. We discussed the political-security situation in the country and reached the conclusion that it is developing into a dramatic one.

I therefore established contact with the Croatian leadership the following morning, first and foremost President Franjo Tudjman. I presented him with the assessments made by the cabinet, and by myself, with the background to the events, and told him of our concern over the future development of the situation in our country. At the same time I held talks with the JNA leadership, the FEC president stated.

On the basis of these talks, I briefed the FEC at a session held partly behind closed doors on all that was happening and on the steps I had taken. The FEC agreed with everything I had done, approved my decision to travel to Zagreb that night and try, through dialogue, to establish the cause of the problems, as well as ways out of them. Before my departure for Zagreb I held final talks with General Kadijevic.

On the basis of this, I had a 90-minute private discussion with President Franjo Tudjman. I then spent another hour or so talking to other top officials from the Croatian leadership. I can say that I did not only witness their readiness to hear all my arguments and to examine the causes of the crisis and of our exacerbated relations, but also noted with astonishment that there is a large quantity of information which had, on the basis of half-truths and, frequently and in most cases, complete lies, fabrications, and allegations, brought relations to their present pass and created a climate that has led to the unfavorable development of the situation, Markovic stressed.

Markovic went on to say that on the basis of these meetings, it was agreed, despite the fact that they had earlier been cancelled, to hold talks in Belgrade between the leaderships of Serbia and Croatia; these talks also took place. It was agreed that if certain preparations were made, there could also be a meeting and talks with the leadership of the JNA.

Yesterday afternoon a session of the Yugoslav Presidency was convened with the intention of strengthening, if one can say this, the position that the army should be able to hold in the implementation of the Presidency's decree. This session took place in very dramatic circumstances, Markovic said.

In any event, I informed the FEC, which was also in session, about the Presidency proposals. I went on to the Presidency session from the FEC before returning. On the basis of the assessment of the situation, we concluded that a climax had been reached and only two outcomes were possible—a nondemocratic and bloody one, or a democratic dialogue. We forumlated proposals to do everything possible to, instead of preparing for war, proceed toward reducing tension and bring—if I may put it this way—military forces into a peaceful state. We concluded that talks should urgently be arranged between all the parties concerned, through which a way

out of the situation might be found that would be bloodless and indeed strengthen and affirm democracy.

During talks between the Croatian and Serbian delegations in Serbia, President Tudjman was contacted. It was agreed that he shouuld attend the SFRY Presidency session. At the session it was agreed that everything that I had mentioned during my separate talks with Croatia and the Army leadership was true; that is, big mistakes had been made, but at the same time much misinformation had also been spread. All this had created an atmosphere that required undemocratic methods of resolving the future of this country, Markovic stated.

After certain guarantees had been given that neither the SFRY leadership nor the Army would intervene against democratically elected leaderships or systems in any part of the country, including Croatia, it was agreed, on our suggestion, that the intention of these talks should be to demobilize the police forces and bring the JNA back to its normal level of combat readiness.

Decisions were reached in this connection; certain guarantees were given so the system will function in every part of Yugoslavia, including Croatia, Markovic stated.

In this interview, given at around 1200, Markovic expressed his hope that at 1200 sharp the demobilization would be implemented and the combat readiness of the JNA would be brought back to normal.

Of course, it will be necessary to conduct investigations to find out the forces behind all this and why it happened. It is necessary to do this not only because the perpetrators should be taken to court but also because a lesson should be learned to ensure that nothing like this ever happens again in our country.

Dialogue is more important than anything else. Once again it transpires that this is the country's only way out. If we sit around a table and openly present all problems, arguments, dilemmas, and fears, and if we discuss them, solutions can be found. I think this has given us not only the benefit of experience, but also a right, as well as a duty, to persevere in everything we have been doing so far, Markovic declared.

In his opinion, all the efforts of the FEC for a peaceful solution to the crisis in our country have been rewarded with great success. At the same time it so happens, Markovic noted, that we have an enormous chance of achieving the minimum conditions for the further functioning of our country. In effect it is not the minimum. As I said on television the other evening—and not everyone had the opportunity to see and hear it—one of our demands concerned the uninterrupted flow of information in Yugoslavia as a whole. Without it our citizens will not receive true information, but only that imposed by their leaderships.

On the basis of all this a debate should be held in the SFRY Presidency, together with the presidents of republics and presidents of the republican presidencies, on the minimum conditions for survival in this country, which should pave the way toward a new agreement on the country's future. One of the prerequisites for the implementation of this minimum is to restore the status quo ante, as was done with the demobilization of the reserve police force and the reinstatement of the Army's combat readiness.

This also means, Markovic explained, that it is necessary to settle all commitments to the federal budget and restore the status quo ante concerning all incursions on the monetary system. Such measures must be passed to prevent any further incursions—which I called diversion—on the monetary system of Yugoslavia, and the use of the issue of money for one's own purposes [as received].

This does not only mean that legal and financial discipline is thus introduced, which is a precondition for further functioning of the system. It also means, Markovic stressed, that necessary trust in the system is introduced and that the system has institutions to implement that. If we achieve that, and what happened yesterday shows there is no doubt that positive resolutions have begun in the country, there is no reason that this positive trend will not continue on the basis of our proposal.

I hope, the FEC president added, that we shall create conditions for the course of reform to continue and for the country to function normally. On these grounds I hope that all talks on the future of our country will take place. The FEC, he recalled, did not opt for either a federal or confederal system, or a decision not to live together in the same country. Even if such a decision is reached, it has to be implemented in a civilized, democratic, and cultured way—without bloodshed, he said. The FEC and I personally believe, however—and the denouement that occurred yesterday confirmed it—that there are enough reasons for all parts of our country to live together on the basis of the new system and new confidence that we are going to create—of course, if we agree to do so.

According to Markovic, this is a precondition for securing, or rather for receiving, the previously secured financial support from abroad. The FEC has been maintaining contacts with all institutions that we can obtain such support from. This positive outcome will help us to obtain such support and these resources will facilitate the overcoming of the production crisis and the crisis in the sphere of restructuring our economy and society. This would also make the economic and social price of the transformation relatively cheaper. That price, of course, has to be paid. But, unlike the price of blood, which we have prevented from being paid, the price of "sweat and tears" is lower, but it cannot be completely evaded, he declared.

In my opinion, Markovic asserted, after the climate and readiness are created for a search for a way out on the basis of the reform program, and it is demonstrated that this is still possible, I am absolutely convinced that our

citizens are also prepared to engage in certain renunciations when they have things in perspective. Here the FEC president expressed the conviction that this perspective is not so far away—not only for a democratic, peaceful, and civilized solution but also for a human way out that will result in the well-being of this country and in its preparation to become an equal participant with European nations in the integration of the old continent.

Markovic went on to say that it is a characteristic not only of our system but of all systems that are disintegrating that, when one system replaces another, instead of a rational way out, the people seek irrational, emotional solutions. After all, they are much more immediate. In the final analysis, when a system disintegrates, people have the desire to organize themselves where they feel themselves to be most insecure. We are witnessing what is happening regarding this in our country. Everything that has happened, both in connection with this conflict in Croatia and in connection with the inflaming of emotions of a Serbian-Croatian character, is the result of a process that is under way in our country.

Everything that has happened in these last 24 hours indicates that rational solutions, free of emotion and irrationality, should be sought. After all, there can be no simple accusations levelled at individual nations or individual nationalities. No one should have complexes about these accusations, regardless of whether this is a matter of Ustashas, Chetniks, or any other elements from the past, on which basis the specter of nationalism is running wild.

In the final analysis this should be reduced to the real thing. If culprits exist, they should be identified. It is not possible—nor has it ever been the case—for nations to be at fault. After all, the culprits are individuals who should bear responsibility. Such individuals, believe me, are to be found on all sides. No country is free of those individuals who in the struggle for power would sacrifice everything except themselves, FEC President Ante Markovic concluded.

Evening Presidency Session Ends in Belgrade

LD2601003591 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0004 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] A session of the SFRY Presidency ended in Belgrade about 0020 26 Jan during which attempts were made, despite occasional sharp polemics, to arrive at a common assessment of the current situation in Yugoslavia and to search for ways of overcoming the mounting political crisis in the country.

Later in the evening, the members of the Yugoslav political leadership were joined by the top representatives of Croatia: President Franjo Tudjman; Dr. Zarko Domljan, the assembly president; and President of the Croat Government Josip Manolic. Prior to the meeting with the Yugoslav Presidency, the Croat delegation conducted a several-hour long conversation with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, behind closed doors.

Croatia's top representatives, including Yugoslav Vice President Stipe Mesic, are on their way to Zagreb.

Republican Presidents View Country's Future

LD2601224791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2136 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Skopje, January 26 (TANJUG)—Prior to the second "round" of talks on the future of Yugoslavia on January 28 in Belgrade, the Skopje-based daily VECER on Saturday published the statements of the president and vice-president of the Yugoslav state Presidency, Dr. Borisav Jovic and Stipe Mesic, respectively, as well as of the presidents of the republics of Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Slovenia.

Assessing the situation in Yugoslavia as very delicate, Yugoslav President Jovic set out that the coming session of the state Presidency and republican presidents is expected to be a step further toward clarification of the positions of certain Yugoslav republics as regards ways out of the political crisis and its democratic denouement.

Vice-President Mesic said the situation was worsened by "certain interference of the army into solving the country's political problems." He said he expected the coming session will provide a step further and that the stands of the Yugoslav republics were not so opposed that a solution cannot be found for all.

Presidency President of Macedonia Dr Vladimir Mitkov described the current situation in the country as "extremely serious and dramatic". He stressed that it was Macedonia's commitment to have the situation resolved as soon as possible by democratic means.

Momir Bulatovic, Presidency president of Montenegro, emphasized that Yugoslavia cannot be democratic if it was not united, and that the coming session should not be expected to yield spectacular results, but that it will be a step closer to an essential rapprochement of differing views as regards Yugoslavia's future.

Presidency President of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alia Izetbegovic noted that there was among the leaderships of the Yugoslav republics a desire to remain in Yugoslavia "in this or that" manner, but that differences widened as regards the future order of the country. We in Bosnia believe that the only way out of the crisis is by peaceful means, Izetbegovic said.

Slovenian President Milan Kucan believes that Yugoslavia, as a federal state, was completely disintegrated, that the crisis was at its "highest" and that the social prospects and security of its citizens uncertain.

He also said he did not expect much from the coming session, because the talks among the republican leaderships will not have been completed by the time the session opens.

Reportage on Croatian Arms Documentary; Reactions

Preparations for European, U.S. Viewing

AU2601152091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] A segment of the special Belgrade Television program on the acquisition of arms in Croatia was shown as part of Eurovison programming. In practical terms this means that all of Western Europe is able to view this program. The established practice is that in exchanging programs with Eurovision, U.S. and Asian television networks accept programs that are being offered.

Part of this program on Croatia is also being taken by the U.S. television network CNN and the BBC.

A special version of this program will be broadcast today to Intervision, which covers countries in eastern Europe such as Austria and Finland. The Intervision system has 16 permament members. There are also countries that occasionally take part in this system of program exchange.

Belgrade Television is currently translating this program into English, so it can be offered in case there are special orders.

Held From Croatian, Slovene TV

LD2501233791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2132 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The documentary program on the arming of Croatian Democratic Party [HDZ] members, prepared by the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Zastava military film center, was carried at 1900 GMT this evening by Belgrade Television and both provincial television studios, Novi Sad and Pristina, for the territory of Serbia, Montenegrin television, and Sarajevo television. Skopje television showed it some time later on its second channel. Croatian television carried an extended second news bulletin instead, showing today's emergency session of the Croatian Assembly. Likewise, the documentary was not shown on Slovene television this evening.

Program To Air on Croatian TV

LD2601172491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—"Croatian TV did not carry a direct transmission of the Belgrade TV program about the alleged illegal supply of armaments in the republic of Croatia in view of the fact that the broadcast was not offered in a regular exchange but was served as a special program in the early evening of 25 January," says today's statement by Hrvoje Hitrec, director general of Croatian Radio and TV.

"Already from the brief announcement, which reached Croatian TV after 1800, (not the whole program— this has been intimated by the most authoritative people at Belgrade Radio and TV so that Croatian TV could adopt a decision on the broadcast) it was obvious that this is a matter of a miserable forgery. The broadcasting of this creation would not be in keeping with the basic principles of Croatian Radio and TV concerning the truthful, objective, and complete provision of information to the Croatian public. Croatian TV will, however, show the broadcast 26 January, accompanied by an explanation by experts on the technical methods resorted to in the production of this none-too-skillful montage," Director General Hrvoje Hitrec's statement says at the end.

Arming of HDZ Members

LD2501233391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2013 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The key role concerning the acquisaition of arms abroad, used to arm the Croatian Democratic Party [HDZ], was played by the Croatian ministers of defense and internal affairs, Martin Spegelj and Josip Boljkovac respectively, as well as by former Foreign Minister Zdravko Mrsic.

Their names, alongside a description of their key role, were emphasized in the half-hour program on the arming of HDZ members that Belgrade television's first channel broadcast this evening after the news bulletin. The documentary, filmed by the information service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Zastava film military film center, was also offered, on an exchange basis, to other television studios in Yugoslavia.

The leading group responsible for the acquisition of arms abroad, according to what was shown and said on television, included Marjan Balaban, head of the Cakovec public security service: Ilija Dodig, head of the Varazdin center of the state security service; Zeljko Tomljenovic, under secretary for defense affairs; and Josip Perkovic, under secretary for state security.

The program, which had viewers "glued" to their television sets, contained authentic video material filmed both openly and secretly. For this reason some of the statements were difficult to hear and the speaker had to repeat them.

On several occasions the program carried statements made by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at news conferences, in which he said that HDZ members should not be armed. After this, however, we saw secretly recorded confidential talks that refuted this.

The film also shows secret meetings between Minister Spegelj and two young people. During these meetings, held in a private house, retired General Martin Spegelj,

former commander of the Fifth Military District and now republican defense minister, announces that they are "at war with the army", that "80,000 Kalashnikovs have been acquired," and that "Slatina is packed with weapons."

Some of the secretly filmed instructions issued by the Croatian defense minister sounded, to put it in its mildest terms, astonishing. Thus Spegelj said at one point that, when the time comes, bombs should be thrown into the apartments of officers of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], members of their families should be killed, and officers should not be allowed at any price to reach their units alive. Those who are most extreme should be killed on the spot in their barracks; they should be struck right in the stomach, Minister Spegelj advised. They army will be cut to pieces, the former commander of the Fifth Military district threatened.

The defense minister was also precise when he talked about the occupation of watchtowers. They should all be taken over, he said. Prisoners should be incarcerated and if the action continues they should be given bread and water. Soldiers of Albanian nationality, in such circumstances, should be given five bullets each.

The broadcast shows Spegelj saying that two days after the victory of Slobodan Milosevic in the Serbian elections, the U.S. offered free help in the form of transporters and the complete arming of 100,000 soldiers.

The authors of the documentary, however, also used part of an interview that Spegelj gave to Croatian television, in which the Croatian minister of defense said that he is an inveterate optimist. It is better to negotiate for 10 years than to engage in war, Spegelj said at that time.

Also broadcast was a secretly filmed statement by Minister Spegelj in which he threatened that the inhabitants of Knin would be butchered. According to the broadcast, Josip Boljkovac, Croatian minister of internal affairs, has a similar view of the Knin problem. In a secretly filmed telephone conversation with an interlocutor whose identity is not made known to viewers, he said that he would go into Knin and would create an independent state of Croatia at any price.

The broadcast also shows Cazmatrans trucks that brought in the first consignment of Kalashnikovs purchased in Hungary. It is alleged that the importer is the Astra enterprise and that the consignment contained 450 boxes with over 4,500 Kalashnikovs. This consignment of goods, according to the program was safeguarded by members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the territory of Hungary as well. As this load did not go unnoticed, the announcer stated, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense drew the attention of Hungarian services to this, but they received the reply that it was a normal business transaction.

The announcer said that Hungary permitted the illegal residence of Ministers Spegelj and Mrsic in their country, while deliveries of weapons from military stores continued with unusual rapidity.

Also broadcast were parts of a conversation with Goran Ribicic, Croatian Democratic Movement secretary from Osijek, who explained plans for the setting up of barriers on roads around barracks, stressing that their aim is the breakup of the JKNA, and above all the confiscation of military resources and equipment.

The HDZ secretary in Virovitica, also in an secretly filmed conversation in a private house described the organization of actions and said that the password would be "winter is coming—snow lies ahead."

Nation 'Shocked' by Documentary

LD2601181591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 26 (TANJUG)—Belgrade papers today carry reactions by citizens and party leaders from almost all parts of Yugoslavia who say they are shocked and horrified by what they have seen in a telecast on the "Arming of Terrorist Formations of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) in Croatia."

All TV centres in the country, except for the Zagreb centre, broadcast last night the shots made by the information service of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia according to which some of the members of the ruling party in Croatia had prepared the liquidation of Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) [JNA] officers and members of their families, and attacks on Serbs in Croatia.

Member of the Presidency of Serbia Slobodan Vucetic was quoted in the press as saying that the recording "witnessed the darkest criminal state terrorism."

Belgrade actor Ljuba Tadic stated that he was "appalled and shocked" at what Croatian Defence Minister Martin Spegelj said about the killing of children.

Belgrade POLITIKA carries also a report saying that many Serbs in Banija, part of Croatia, in fear of retaliation of the CDU extremists, left their flats in city quarters and sought shelter at the homes of their relatives in the interior.

In Knin, predominantly Serbian-populated town in Croatia, the paper says it is peaceful but townsmen "are nonetheless on alert."

Belgrade papers carry reactions also from the republics of Montengero and Macedonia and from the province of Vojvodina under headlines as "Shock and Disbelief," "Astounded," "High Treason," and "Terrified." Early official and unofficial commentaries in Bosnia- Hercegovina are moderate, press reports say.

NOVI SAD DNEVNIK (Vojvodina) carries a statement by President of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians Bela Tonkovic who held that the broadcasting of the recorded materials was "a big mistake"

because of "arousing big hatred for Croats." He also doubted the veracity of the recordings.

President of the Social-Democratic Party of Albanians in Kosovo Skelzen Malici told the BORBA paper that what he had seen from the recording was "horrible" and added that this was "one side of the truth reached through spying" and hence the other side also had to be heard.

President of Bosnia-Hercegovina and leader of the Moslem Party of Democratic Action Alija Izetbegovic told BORBA that he was not for an army action because it would bring about civil war, but he favoured the prosecution of those who had prepared terrorist actions.

Ljubljana TV commentator said last night that the recorded materials proved that Spegelj and Croatian Police Chief Boljkovac had "planned the destruction of the Army irrespective of casualties."

He said the shots constituted the "true military-spying drama."

TV Zagreb, which last night broadcast only an excerpt from the recorded materials, said the materials were fraudulently edited.

Croat Official: 'Malicious Falsehoods'

LD2601220891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Josip Boljkovac issued a special written public statement this evening. The statement said: "The program on Belgrade television is intended to impose the view that the republic of Croatia has Ustasha-like characteristics." In this connection the minister asserts this is a matter of deliberate malicious falsehoods and insinuations and an unscrupulous tissue of lies aimed at discrediting the tools of authority, and the Croatian police as well.

"Regarding myself personally," Boljkovac writes, "my stances are known to the public. No sinister film like this one—which was served up for us, if it is true, by the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], which makes me very sad—can change them."

"Besides my insistence on the functioning of the law-governed state and my respect for constitutionality and legality and, in this connection, the rights of the individual, I have, as you know, constantly urged a peaceful resolution of the problems, and advocated reason and dialogue," Boljkovac's statement says. [passage omitted]

The statement goes on to say:

"At the same time, I advocated—and I will continue to advocate—the readiness of the police to protect and defend the democratic Republic of Croatia from violence and aggression from any quarter.

"In particular I believe that the mechanisms of cooperation between the departments of the JNA and Internal Affairs, which have been destroyed recently, should be revived.

"However, it should be stated clearly to everyone: Our police are loyal to their leadership as well as to all decent citizens, regardless of their nation and religion, and to this end we will carry out all the decisions required of us by the independent legislative, judicial, and executive authority of the Republic of Croatia, based on the constitution and the law." [passage omitted]

Reportage on Hungarian Involvement in Arming

Note Sent to Envoy

LD2601163391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Dusan Rodic, aide to the federal secretary for foreign affairs, summoned Istvan Oeszi, the Hungarian ambassador in Yugoslavia, to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs today regarding illegal arms exports from Hungary to Yugoslavia.

Rodic pointed out the severity of this problem relative to Yugoslav-Hungarian relations, and required an explanation from the Hungarian side.

The Hungarian ambassador was told that the Yugoslav Government reserved the right to reveal the necessary facts about the problem of importing arms, and its opinions on it.

At the same time, Rodic resolutely refuted the claims of the diplomatic note the Hungarian Embassy in Belgrade had earlier sent to the federal secretary for foreign affairs, which reiterates that in yesterday's television program "What is the truth about the illegal arming of the Croatian Democratic Community terrorist formations in Croatia," unfounded and serious accusations were voiced against Hungary.

Hungary Protests Documentary

AU2601152191 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Because of events taking place in neighboring Croatia in particular and Yugoslavia in general, Hungary has increased checks on the border with our country. Checks have been increased at all 13 border crossings, but the flow of traffic, as Hungarian officials claim, is normal and delays are less than half an hour.

Hungary has officially protested to Yugoslavia, via its ambassador in Belgrade, following a program shown on Belgrade Television last night that suggests Hungary took part in secret deliveries of arms to semi-military, illegal formations in Croatia.

Reportage on Minister Spejelj's Involvement

Denies TV Accusations

LD2601052191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2349 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Martin Spegelj, Croatia's national defense minister, vehemently denied allegations from the video film "On the Arming of Members of the HDZ" and questioned the film's authenticity.

"This reminds me of the times of Stalin's purges during the late 1930's, of monstruous trials in which evidence and arguments were fabricated in an exceptionally skillful way," Spegelj said in a program shown on Croatian television soon after midnight in which he was seen talking with two unidentified persons in an apartment.

"All this reminds me of one of the most sinister aspects in the development of statehood or, rather, non-statehood in the Eastern Bloc, in the Soviet Union, of something that shocks, that undermines a person." [passage omitted]

More Evidence Presented

LD2601123191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Furthering claims by Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj that the footage broadcast in the program "What is the truth about the arming of the Croatian Democratic Community terrorist formations in Croatia" was not authentic, the Public Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense announced that only the lesser part of irrefutable evidence was broadcast on Martin Spegelj's role. In addition to several hours of fully authentic television footage of his statements and other evidence, there are also first-hand witnesses of his activities. All this will be discussed in the course of legally prescribed proceedings.

Radio Views Croatia 'Becoming Fascist'

AU2701213991 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Kosta Krajincanic commentary from "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Something that had been warned about long ago has come true: The greatest danger to Yugoslavia does not come from outside, but from within. Over many years this warning had remained without reaction, as if it never reached one's mind. True, the indifference that it was received with was understandable in a way, because the secessionist tendencies in some parts of the country were still just beginning. The larger they grew, the more obvious became the proof that not only political weapons, but also firearms were used to realize political ambitions.

It seems that even the latest attempt, the warning that Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, issued on 3 December was not taken seriously enough. In an interview given to military-political commentator Miroslav Lazanski, Kadijevic clearly said that the greatest danger to the country's integrity and security is lying in the intensive buildup of pure national armies. The general explained in what way that had been done—the misuse of territorial defense, civil defense, people's defense, and internal affairs services, as well as in the form of volunteer units and various illegal groups. Whom may these armies serve and against whom they may be turned, General Kadijevic asked and immediately provided an answer: They can only push us into the abyss of a fratricidal war.

Just how true that was could be seen in documents seen on television the evening before last. The merciless visual and audio proof has shed light on the mass armament of terrorist organizations of the Croatian Democratic Community and their preparations for a repression against those with different political opinions, as well as for killing members of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and undesirable Serbs in the Knin Region.

Light was also shed on the hypocritical policy of the present Croatian authorities who are talking about democracy and sovereignty and at the same time preparing state terrorism and treason. To make this hypocrisy even worse, the armed rebellion in Croatia was being prepared at the same time the republic's official representatives were participating in negotiations to creat the so-called third Yugoslavia. It is now clear how seriously and with what good intentions they participated in that job. Can one trust a negotiator who insists upon a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis while hiding behind his back a bomb he was going to throw into people's homes and guns that he would shoot women and children.

As far as we know, the film about the terrorist plot in Croatia and the militant side of Croatian democracy has not been seen by television viewers in that republic. The question is how much the general public in Croatia knows about the secret plans and the Ku Klux Klan's in its own state and to what extent it is aware of the fact the state is becoming fascist.

Mislead by stories about famous Croatian democracy and self-identity, perhaps even true advocates of democracy and sovereignty in that republic failed to understand the infernal meaning of the slogan issued by the Croatian Democratic Community: Croatian submachine guns on Croatian shoulders. Furthermore, as can be seen now, everything started with that slogan and everything is based on it. We are in war with the Army, Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj says. According to what we have heard and seen, the title of war minister would

suit him better. One must understand his battle cry; Spegelj is also a part of the current Croatian policy and its direct executive. That policy does not need any halls to hold talks and negotiations, any parliaments, constitutional courts, or any kind of a Yugoslav summit. The only thing it needs is its own army and own gun on one's own shoulder. This is why the presence of the JNA on the sovereign Croatian territory does not suit that policy at all and this is why it wages war against Army garrisons.

With the policy its top leadership is carrying out at the moment, Croatia simply does not want any agreement on Yugoslavia because it does need Yugoslavia. After all, this was openly said by the leaders of the Croatian Democratic Community when the party was founded sometime last January. Why should one think, meanwhile, that they changed their minds. Something did change, however, in the meantime. The view of Yugoslavia as a joint state at any cost has changed. Today, all reasonable people should have good wishes for Croatia, Slovenia, or anybody else who wishes to leave. These departures, however, must also be a matter of a peaceful, democratic, and just agreement, and not of weapons and force. This would have to be the greatest lesson one should learn from what happened recently.

Tudjman Says Possibility of Coup 'Removed'

LD2601023591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0120 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—I think that we have reason to be satisfied with both our meetings in Belgrade, Dr. Franjo Tudjman said tonight at Zagreb Airport upon his return.

In reference to his talks with the leadership of the Republic of Serbia, Dr. Tudjman stressed as the most important detail, an agreement reached by the two sides to resume working talks between Croatian and Serbian delegations.

At the Yugoslav Presidency sesion all suspicions about the possibility of the Army instigating a coup in Croatia were removed, Tudjman said. It was explained how the situation arose, that a clash was expected between the police and the Army. It is important that all suspicions about this possibility have been eliminated.

Tudjman said that it is also very important that the SFRY Presidency has formulated its clear standpoint on the urgent need to reestablish legal order where it has been violated.

Croatia Deactivates Reserve, Police Units

LD2601165791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1544 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 26 (TANJUG)—Croatian Interior Minister Josip Boljkovac on Saturday ordered that—along with the lifting of combat readiness of the Yugoslav People's Army units envisaged at noon today under a decision by the Yugoslav State Presidency—"the complete reserve units of all police administrations" be "immediately deactivated" at the same time and the reservists be sent home.

The order, officially announced by the Interior Ministry in Zagreb, has been sent to all police administrations, units, and other Interior Ministry services in the Republic of Croatia.

The same instructions reduce the readiness of the entire active force to the level of normal activity, in keeping with the current tasks of ensuring the safety of persons and facilities and the needs of ensuring rallies.

According to official data set out at the republican assembly session on Friday, the Croatian Interior Ministry's reserve forces comprise around 21,000 members, while its active force, clerks included, is 22,000 strong.

Presidency, Croatian Leadership Reach Agreement

LD2601014491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0032 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—At its session on 25 January, presided over by Dr. Borisav Jovic, the SFRY Presidency considered the situation in the country in light of the SFRY Presidency order of 9 January 1991, and the resultant activities and atmosphere of tension. The session was attended by Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic and Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense.

It was concluded that an atmosphere was created that could result in serious unrest, confrontations, and intranational conflicts, and that it was necessary to take urgent and specific measures to end this and to create normal conditions for overcoming the current situation.

To this end the SFRY Presidency decided to invite the leadership of the Republic of Croatia—Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia; Dr. Zarko Domljan, president of the Croatian Assembly; and Josip Manolic, president of the Croatian government to participate in the second part of the session of the SFRY Presidency.

A detailed analysis of the causes that generated mutual distrust, suspicion, and tensions showed that there exist no reasons to justify the intra-national tensions in the Republic of Croatia, and the tensions between the services of the Republic of Croatia on one side and of the Federation on the other. A full agreement has been reached on measures to defuse the tensions. To this end it was agreed that at 1200 on 26 January the reserve forces of the militia in Croatia will be demobilized [demobilizirati] while at the same time the level of combat readiness of the Yugoslav People's Army units will be returned to regular peacetime conditions. In this way conditions will be created for a normal life and for eliminating all intranational confrontations.

A joint conclusion was reached that conditions will be created for conducting investigations as stipulated by law. It was also agreed that in conducting their investigation and court proceedings, the military judicial services will cooperate with Croatia's competent bodies.

The SFRY Presidency again draws attention to the need, as urgently as possible, to reestablish legal order where it has been violated, to guarantee its operation in the entire territory of Yugoslavia, and to secure a peaceful and safe life for the country's citizens.

It was also concluded that an agreement reached between the SFRY Presidency and the leadership of the Republic of Croatia on the need to eliminate the causes of tension and distrust and to implement the conclusions reached at the session would create all necessary conditions and a favorable atmosphere for talks on how to unravel the Yugoslav crisis and to implement necessary social reforms.

Tudjman Delivers Speech to Croatian Assembly

LD2501180391 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Speech by Franjo Tudjman, at the emergency session of the Croatian Assembly in Zagreb on 25 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr. President, [words indistinct] esteemed deputies of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, ladies and gentlemen: I am addressing you today in significantly altered social and political circumstances from the (?festive) and exalted ones in which I addressed this chamber last on the occasion of the proclamation of the Constitution of Croatia. To be honest, I anticipated that the freedom-loving, Croatian, European (?content) of our Constitution would enjoy the support of all freedom-loving people at home and abroad, but I also expected and knew that such a Constitution would (?meet with resistance) and anger opponents among the many followers and blind believes of the former communist and hegemonistic ranks, or rather regime. [passage omitted]

In such a psychologically tense situation, in which every voice of reason and appeal for talks and tolerance is interpreted as an expression of fear and weakness, on 23 January 1991 the Ministry of Defense, the SFRY Federal Secretariat for National Defense, issued a statement that verges on a declaration of war against Croatia, one of the members of the present federation, of which the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is a part, from whose money it is financed and which it should, in the event of danger, defend. In writing this speech I tried hard not to succumb to the psychosis and not to dramatize an already dramatic situation. Reason dictated, however, that I should, with you and the entire Croatian and world public, face up to the truth, to the facts. I do not want to go into anyone's motives, not even the army's. [passage omitted]

Out of understanding for the problems facing the army as an institution and the army officers as individuals, in my speech mentioned earlier, at the session of the Presidency on 10 January, I devoted particular attention to the democratic transformation of the JNA. From the Army I asked only for patience and restraint from interference in the problems of civilian society and the law-governed state. I proposed several goodwill moves, for example, the display of the flag of the republic in which the units of the JNA are stationed. Even now, after the statement, I would like to believe that it is a case of the army leadership being unable to find its feet in the new circumstances of democracy and not of the conscious use of the JNA as an instrument against democracy and the (?slowness of finding) a way out of the crisis. [passage omitted] We are also aware, however, that without our own resolute stand and appropriate strength, we would not be able to halt the opponents who have from the start targetted the young Croatian state and democracy. [applause]

Before this distinguished house I would, therefore, like to resolutely confirm that the Republic of Croatia will be able to defend and be victorious in the defense of its hard-won freedom, democratic legal order, state sovereignty, and territorial integrity. [applause]

The order of the SFRY Presidency on the disarming of illegal paramilitary formations is not based even on federal constitutional law. Reference to the possibility of the use of military force in peace time under Article 316 of the Constitution does not envision the possibility of issuing any order of this kind. This was not a case of application of the provisions of the SFRY Constitution relating to Article [number indistinct] paragraph three of the law on all-people's defense regarding the powers of the SFRY Presidency to establish a state of emergency.

The contentious order is, therefore, unconstitutional and illegal. The SFRY Constitution does not recognize any state of emergency that exists as a concept in the abovementioned law on all-people's defense, so that the constitutionality of this law can also justifiably be raised.

We have observed before the unconstitutionality and illegality of orders of the SFRY Presidency, but we decided not to initiate proceedings to establish their constitutionality in the present crisis, aware that the battle against us is not being waged by legal and political argument, but by special warfare and military pressure.

The real reason for our present concern is that from the statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense it transpires that the JNA, bypassing the SFRY Presidency, is attempting to take the solution of the political crisis into its own hands. This is a case, gentlemen, of an attempt by the JNA to carry out a military coup, whereby the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia would acquire the right to make political assessments of the democratically elected services of government in the Republic of Croatia and elsewhere, accusing them in the

worst Bolshevik manner of collusion with foreign services, threats of arrests, and so on.

According to our information, a similar fate is intended for [Federal Executive Council] President Markovic because of his effort to implement economic and political reform.

Speaking about the SFRY Presidency's order and the statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, we must bear in mind that we have long been facing attempts to introduce a state of emergency in Croatia and Slovenia. Nevertheless, the military authorities will be bound by orders of the SFRY Presidency who explicitly say that implementation of this order will, by way of the military authorities, be based on a special order of the SFRY Presidency that means a prior introduction of a state of emergency by the SFRY Presidency's decision. In the paragraph of the order there is also a stipulation that the JNA will insure the protection of all SFRY citizens on the whole territory of the SFRY in the event other competent bodies are not able to insure this.

It is absurd to invite the JNA to intervene in Croatia because its political forces are allegedly incapable of securing order and peace and defending the constitutional order in light of the well- known fact that, for example, in the case of the [August 1990] interception of helicopters the JNA opposed such an action in Knin by the Ministry of Internal Affairs last summer while individuals from both the active and reserve staff have manifestly demonstrated their hostility toward the new democratic authorities ever since.

This is, in fact, an attempt to inflict bolshevik violence on the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia and to misuse legislation. The line of action should have been: If any one republic really needs help in insuring internal order and peace and clamping down on terrorism then the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs rather than the Armed Forces, whose constitutional role and duty is to protect the country from external threats, should help in this. The statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense raises concern particularly because it demonstrates [words indistinct]

In its own political estimate the SFRY Presidency, who issued a soothing explanation that the order referred only to groups and individuals who held weapons in illegal possession and not to the police forces or territorial defense of particular republics, maintains that only the military pressure on the Republic of Croatia is increasing. Now one is no longer demanding that the paramilitary formations, whose unlawful status could not be proved, be disbanded but various formations of an essentially military nature in the Republic of Croatia.

It is, therefore, an obvious sign that in this statement there is no mention anywhere of the terrorist Chetnik squads in Knin. Threatening representatives of the Republic of Croatia with criminal charges before military courts stems primarily from the way the Republic of Croatia acquired the weapons needed by the active and reserve staff of its Ministry of Internal Affairs. These weapons were acquired in a legitimate way to meet the needs of legitimate services following the Federal Directorate's refusal to accept the bid of our Ministry of Internal Affairs for arms manufactured by Zavodi Crvena Zastava and its explanation that, allegedly, due to the lengthy procedure and the overstretching of the manufacturer's capacities, such an order could only be filled in a year or two years' time. At the same time, we learned the same services, allegedly supplied through intermediaries in foreign firms the Knin area with weapons, disguising them as an export shipment to the Middle East.

It is an obvious fact that for years the police of all the republics have legally imported arms through authorized foreign trade firms to meet their needs, but it is only Croatia that is denied such importation and threatened with military courts where it is to be charged with counter-revolution and treason. Even if there were any basis for criminal proceedings against some individuals before civilian or military courts there still would be no need for the Fifth Military District to go on full combat alert as is the case now.

Let me say a few words about the true numbers of the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who are being constantly questioned. Due to the pressures of the military top brass since the establishment of the sovereign, democratic, and noncommunist authorities in Croatia, we have increased the number of active staff, including clerical staff, from 16,000 to 22,000. Even according to the old regime's estimates this number is insufficient to meet the requirements and is considerably less than the other republics keep, both in relative and absolute terms.

At a recent meeting of the police chiefs of all the republics it was established that until recently the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs had a 75,000-strong list of staff that—primarily due to financial reasons—has been trimmed down to 34,000. Serbia did not even present the number of its active and reserve staff but in our estimate it exceeds by far the numbers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia. For years the JNA has demonstrated generosity in passing on its weapons and military equipment to the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia that deploys them in Kosovo. Our 21,000-strong reserve staff is engaged to remove the direct threat to the democratic legal order and this is why they, in their capacity as a force to be reckoned with—in addition to the determination of the leadership of the Republic of Croatia, the opposition parties, and the Croatian people to defend their own freedom—have been, and we believe, will be, an obstacle to every anti-Croatian adventure.

While demanding an ultimatum that the Republic of Croatia should disband its reserve police staff, something that is not demanded of any other republic, the

SFRY Presidency and the military authorities provide the ultimate display of unwisdom. After all, let me note that as early as last week the Croatian Ministry of internal affairs offered the withdrawal of the reserve staff's weapons to its depots provided the federal services guaranteed that the Knin mutiny and the military and psychological pressure on Croatia would abate.

We still believe that dialogue is the only solution but we are not naive enough, though, to be compelled to withdraw the weapons of reserve police staff into the depots having learned the dangerous lesson of last year's confiscation of all weapons belonging to Croatia's territorial defense. The Croatian population is extremely upset and embittered with the constant movements and the sending in of extra armored and mechanized and other military forces to Croatia.

It is comforting, though, that as yet the military forces have not been directly ordered to intervene, but the fact raises concern that we are facing all sorts of provocations, attempts to frighten people, and the spreading of all sorts of alarming and dangerous rumors, that find their prey among many frightened people and are being exploited by various provocateurs and extremists. We believe the resolve of the authority services in the Republic of Croatia as well as the readiness of the entire Croatian nation to defend Croatia's sovereignty and freedom deter all forces of the past from their ominous intentions. This is why we are investing the same efforts in curbing any sort of senseless behavior among our ranks, including fanatical extremism, which attracts provocations, as well as any useless panic. [passage omitted]

Now, permit me to tell you something about our talks. You were all informed that today, 25 January we were to have talks with the leadership of the Republic of Serbia. We were prepared for those talks, but after the statement that we have discussed, the ultimatum to Croatia, after yesterday's session of the Council for National Defense and Protection of the Constitutional Order, we decided not to go to these talks, and this was published by some information media.

After that we also had a meeting yesterday of the government, then a meeting yesterday evening with the Slovene delegation that was on its way back from Belgrade from talks with the Serbian delegation. Then these talks were also joined by Vice President of the Federal Presidency Stipe Mesic, who returned to Zagreb, and in the evening Ante Markovic flew in to Zagreb. Following all these talks, and we also had talks, of course, with representatives who themselves contacted us from diplomatic missions—we are, in any case, in contact with people of interest to us both at home and abroad. Further, we decided last night to go to Belgrade after all. [passage omitted]

Croatia Urges Halt to Federal Army Interference

LD2501230291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2225 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, January 25 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia has asked the Federal Government to prevent any interference of the Yugoslav People's Army in the affairs within the competence of the republic, Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Milan Ramljak informed Croatian Assembly deputies on Friday.

Ramljak told the assembly session this was indirectly linked to affairs within the competence of the republican Interior Ministry.

On behalf of the republican government, Ramljak proposed to the assembly to adopt a law authorizing the Croatian Government to decide which federal laws and regulations would not be implemented in Croatia if the government assesses they infringe on the republic's territorial integrity, threaten its interests or bring it into an unequal position within the Yugoslav Federation.

Ramljak proposed that the law come into effect immediately.

The representatives of the opposition parties in the Croatian Assembly unanimously gave their support to the policy of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union in the "defence of Croatia's sovereignty".

Other proposals said that the assembly vote for a "state of secession" which would come into effect automatically, at the first attempt of an army intervention in the republic, and that Croatia immediately apply for membership in the United Nations.

Taking part in the debate at the end of the [word indistinct], Croatian Interior Minister Josip Boljkovac once again denied accusations that either regular or reserve units of the Croatian police were armed illegally.

The Croatian Assembly session continues on Saturday.

Croatian Minister on Tension in Republic

LD2501211291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2022 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Croatia has sufficient forces, that is the police, to defend its own sovereignty, said Josip Boljkovac, minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Croatia, at today's news conference for foreign journalists. He stressed that Croatia has the right to a reserve police formation and that it will have one, if this were to be imposed on it, "for as long as might be necessary."

Minister Boljkovac and his colleague at the Defense Department of the Republic of Croatia, Martin Spegelj, also spoke, according to the article in tomorrow's VECERNJI LIST that quotes the Croatian news agency HINA, of the support that Croatia is receiving from all

over the world. Boljkovac also referred to "offers of help" and to the fact that it will "call upon friends if necessary."

Spegelj stressed that "the only rational solution is the further calming of the situation and the avoidance of even a chance of a clash."

"The latest statement by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense mentions that no actions are intended against legal services of power, but that individuals should be arrested and their possible criminal responsibility established; I find it difficult to understand what kind of criminal responsibility it could be," Spegelj said. As for the situation in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] it is still in its highest combat alert in both Croatia and Slovenia. Spegelj confirmed that 14 JNA air force aircraft had landed at Zagreb military airport yesterday, saying that the JNA had the right to train its units at airports, both military and civilian, and that he did not attach any importance to this.

Problems with Knin were also mentioned at today's news conference. Josip Boljkovic reiterated that this is not a conflict between Croatia and Knin, but between the old and the new. "Unfortunately," he said among other things, "in this conflict it is the question of Croatia and Serbia. As far as Knin itself is concerned, it is just a transmission belt for the implementation of the greater-Serbian policy," Boljkovac stressed at the news conference to be carried by VECERNJI LIST tomorrow.

Presidency Session Reveals 'Mutual Conflicts'

LD2601233291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2006 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, January 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav state Presidency member from Slovenia Dr. Janez Drnovsek said on Saturday about the late Friday [25 Jan] night Presidency session that "dialogues alone should be the way to resolve the Yugoslav crisis which evidently on Friday came on the very verge of mutual conflicts."

It was agreed at the session that the demobilization of police reservists in the Yugoslav republic of Croatia begin on Saturday afternoon and that the measures of heightened combat readiness of the units of the fifth army district, which embraces the territories of Slovenia and parts of Croatia, be lifted.

Drnovsek told newsmen in Ljubljana that the session of the Yugoslav state leadership in Belgrade was at times "very tense" and "very stormy."

Drnovsek said the session, also attended by representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army, relieved the tension between representatives from Croatia and the army and noted the great significance of this meeting.

Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the Yugoslav state Presidency from the republic of Macedonia, said on Saturday that "lighting the fuse anywhere by anyone could destroy all that is being built in Yugoslavia, and that for this reason the logic of weapons should be rejected and the logic of peace, understanding and cooperation embraced."

Addressing the deputies of the Macedonian multi-party parliament, Tupurkovski said differences were removed concerning the reasons for disagreements between the Yugoslav People's Army and the Croatian authorities, which, in his view, provided sufficient grounds to secure further negotiating process.

Knin Residents 'Relieved' at Babic's Statement

LD2701000991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1744 GMT 26 Jan 91

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Knin, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—A vast majority of the Knin area population was relieved after last night's SFRY Presidency session statement.

"At 1600, Dr. Milan Babic sent his statement to Radio Knin. The statement, signed by Dr. Babic in the capacity of president of the Serbian National Council, says:

The SFRY Presidency yesterday witnessed the capitulation of a deceitful, democratic, but essentially fascist, policy of the Croatian Democratic Community and the coalition of the Croatian national chauvinistic parties.

After a documentary film by the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense was broadcast, Dr. Babic notes, everybody in Yugoslavia and in the world understood that preparations of the most brutal terror against JNA [Yugoslavian People's Army] members and the Serbian population in Knin, Krajina, and Croatia lurked behind the so-called new Croatian democracy.

The Croatian leadership could only accept what all democratic political factors in Yugoslavia support, and what is called for by the Serbian people from Krajina: a democratic resolution of the Yugoslav political crisis without the use of force and without the creation of single-nation party armies, Dr. Babic's statement says inter alia."

U.S. Envoy 'Persuaded' Jovic To Hold Army

AU2601195191 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 91 p 5

[M. Krmpotic report: "Tension Diminishes"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb—According to what could be seen and heard in Zagreb, there has been no repetition of Monday night, which was full of anxiety and tension among the population of Croatia because of the supposed possibility of military intervention by the Yugoslav People's Army after the deadline expired for the SFRY Presidency's order on the return of illegal arms. Zagreb and other towns in the republic have, since yesterday, been

returning to a normal way of life, as far as this can be applied to the situation that has been created.

There are several reasons why there was no repetition of the "night of frayed nerves" when Zagreb and Croatia expected the worst—a foray by the Army and tanks and sorties by helicopters and planes that, as stated by the Croatian government, were prepared to do this. The first reason is the SFRY Presidency session that gave the true interpretation of this order. The second was the fact that immediately on arrival at Zagreb airport after his visit to Belgrade, Stipe Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, explained this interpretation for Croatian Television. [passage omitted]

The third reason, which is probably the most weighty, was a report on Croatian television, supposedly based on information from reliable sources, that at a meeting between Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Warren Zimmermann, who had insisted on the meeting, the United States ambassador supposedly "persuaded" Jovic to refrain from Army intervention in Croatia, even though the latter had "placed all his cards on the table" for Mesic only several hours before the deadline expired, telling him that "the police in Croatia must lay down their weapons."

It was unofficially stated that Croatia will raise the question of the constitutionality of the SFRY Presidency's order because it claimed that some of its points are clearly at variance with the Constitution.

Otherwise, as VJESNIK states in its article "Night of Frayed Nerves," 60,000 members of the militia and its regular and reserve forces were "on their feet" in Croatia, as well the special forces, whose number is not stated. As announced by the republican government, their main task was to maintain peace and preserve order on the ground.

Croatian TV Reports on Returned Weapons

LD2801010491 Belgrade TANJAUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1931 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—The order by the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs on the deactivization [deaktivizacija] of all reserve units in all police stations in the republic is being carried out, the main Croatian television news bulletin reported this evening.

According to a statement by the head of Zagreb's Tresnjevka Police Station, Darko Skender, in accordance with the order, the reserve unit was disbanded, people returned home, and the service was normalized.

Weapons belonging to reserve units of Osijek Police headquarters and police stations in Beli Manastir, Djakovo, Donji Miholjac, Nasice, Slavonska Orahovica, Podravska Slatina, and Valpovo were returned and stored in armories of the police headquarters and the police stations, Inspector Vojislav Pokrajac said.

The whole reserve unit returned their weapons and reservists returned home, head of Karlovacj Police Headquarters Ivan Stajduhar said.

Croatian television substantiated all these details with pictures of stored small arms and ammunition.

Tudjman Views Demobilization of Reserve Police

LD2601134491 Belgradle TANJUG in English 1309 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 26 (TANJUG)—President of Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman issued an order for the demobilization of the republican reserve police force at noon today.

At the same time, the Presidency of Yugoslavia and the Federal Defence Secretariat declared that "combat readiness in the Fifth Army District, covering the territory of Slovenia and part of Croatia, is no longer in force".

Tudjman issued the order at today's session of the Croatian parliament, noting that yesterday's talks with the Serbian leadership and the State Presidency "produced the best possible results at a moment when we were on the brink of civil war".

"Some information revealed at the Presidency session testified to the thoughtlessness of our people", said Tudjman, adding that actions by some Croatian Democratic Union extremists and provocateurs could have given justification to the Yugoslav Army to introduce the highest state of alert.

"There is proof that attacks were being prepared against Yugoslav Army members and their homes, that Army members of some nations and religions were followed and that they were threatened", said Tudjman.

Belgrade Television last night broadcast secretly taped statements by Croatian Defence Minister Martin Spegelj, elaborating plans for the liquidation of Yugoslav Army officers and their families.

Tudjman also quoted State Presidency President Borisav Jovic and Federal Defence Minister Veljko Kadijevic as saying at yesterday's Presidency session that the Yugoslav Army had no intention of staging a military coup and overthrowing the Croatian democratic authorities.

He also informed the parliament that following the Federal Presidency's order investigations would be started against those suspected of being directly involved in the organization of illegal paramilitary groups in Croatia and that military investigators would cooperate with Croatian civilian authorities.

Tudjman also urged the deputies to go to the rallies scheduled for today throughout Croatia "to inform the people" about what he had said, but pleaded that "those who incited hatred and added fuel to the fire" refrain from doing so.

'Powerful Explosion' Blasts Croatian Town

LD2801011191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1221 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Text] Pakrac, Yugoslavia, Jan 27 (TANJUG)—One person was hurt in a powerful explosion which on Saturday evening shook the town of Pakrac, east of Zagreb, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

It has been announced that the blast took place on a balcony belonging to veterinarian Vinko Rukavina, whose wife was injured. Initial reports say nothing about the Rukavinas' national and political affiliations.

Pakrac has a large Serbian population. The incident took place in the midst of heightened ethnic tension and one day after television broadcast secretly-shot footage of statements by Croatian Defence Minister Martin Spegelj on plans to liquidate Yugoslav Army officers and their families.

Belgrade TV Accuses U.S. of Arming Croatia

LD2601025691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2228 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, January 25 (TANJUG)—U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmerman stated to TANJUG on Friday that the U.S. has not given, offered or promised any military aid to Croatia. In this way he denied the statement of Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj in special program on Belgrade television on Friday.

Speaking about arming the population in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Spegelj set out that the U.S. had offered to Croatia armored personnel carriers and arms for 100,000 men.

A special half-hour documentary program, carried by all TV stations in Yugoslavia except Croatia and Slovenia, cited data on secret arms imports into Croatia and arming of the population, primarily members of the ruling party in Croatia—the Croatian Democratic Union.

Army Waging 'Psychological War' In Croatia

LD2501223691 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] The Yugoslav People's Army is continuing in various ways to wage a psychological war in Zagreb and Croatia with the aim of spreading fear and anxiety among the population. The Croat Information Agency reports:

The latest arsenal of psychological pressure, but with clear putschist intentions, includes, according to reliable information, threats voiced at the Marshal Tito barracks in Zagreb whereby Croat officers cooperating with the legal Croatian authorities are to be arrested. From the same barracks 150 soldiers were transferred to Serbia, from where Serbian soldiers were brought.

In another barracks all 30 soldiers assigned to ensure protection are Serbian nationals. All the officers continue to be on full combat alert and are sleeping in their barracks where soldiers, under various pretexts, are banned from watching Croatian Television.

Fifth Military District Comments on Troop Moves

LD2501214991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The Fifth Military District Headquarters issued a statement this afternoon. The statement relates to the transfer and relocation of soldiers of Croatian and Slovene nationality, and to reports on this topic in the public information media, as well as the statements of officials, which are assessed as inaccurate.

The statement, signed by Colonel Aleksije Luk, says:

"In the psychological propoganda war that has over the past few days been conducted on a broad basis against the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in the public information media, in speeches by individual leaders of the republic of Croatia, and in inaccurate statements at a session of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, the public information media are persistently serving up to the public numerous items of fabricated and inaccurate information. These now include manipulation and speculation regarding the usual and regular activities of the commands, units, and institutions of the Fifth Military District.

"Presently, reference is most frequently made to the transfer of soldiers. It is true that over the past few days—from the December contingent of recruits—236 soldiers assigned to do their military service from municipalities in the Republic of Croatia, and 84 soldiers from the Republic of Slovenia, have been transferred from units of the Fifth Military District. A certain number of soldiers have been transferred to the Air Force training center in Sombor, where, after completing specialist military training, they will be redistributed to units of the Air Force and Air Defense. Some soldiers from the Ljubljana corps have been transferred to barracks in Brcko, Delnice, and Petrinja. The transfer of soldiers was carried out in accordance with military needs, and not on the basis of national affiliation.

"All other interpretations of alleged large-scale transfers and relocations of soldiers of the Croatian and Slovene nationality are tendentious and designed further to belittle, challenge, and compromise members of the Fifth Military District as well as create a climate of antagonism against, fear of, and threats to the population by the JNA.

"We energetically protest against these and similar insinuations and slanders' being spread by extremely uninformed and malicious individuals, even in such respected chambers as the Assembly of the Republic of

Croatia and the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia," the statement of the Fifth Military District headquarters concludes.

Mesic Addresses 100,000 at Zagreb Rally

LD2601160191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Stipe Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, spoke this afternoon at a meeting in Zagreb in front of about 100,000 people who gathered at Ban Jelacic Square. Recalling the results of yesterday's talks in Belgrade, he stressed that the most important thing is that the conditions have now been created for the democratic unravelling of the crisis.

Croatia, Mesic stressed, obtained support for the functioning of the legal system throughout its own area.

"We must warn those who think that outlaw behavior and banditry can destroy Croatia that they do not have support in either the country or the world," Mesic said.

Similar meetings, which have been convened by political parties and trade unions for the purpose of protesting the alleged threats to the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, are being held today throughout Croatia.

Croatian Assembly Continues Session

AU2501200391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Vesna Knezevic report]

[Text] The session of the Croatian Assembly continued shortly after 1800 with Chairman Ivan Vekic telling the deputies that Franjo Tudjman is expected to come to the Republican Assembly any minute, after his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade. Vesna Knezevic reports:

[Knezevic] The Assembly session is continuing without any dissonant tones and absolute support is being expressed to the Croatian authorities in their dispute with the top military and federal leaderships. After Tudjman's speech, which lasted half an hour and in which he presented the assumption that the Yugoslav Army's General Staff may be acting independently, and after his departure for Belgrade, the guests and party leaders came one after the other to the assembly rostrum. Antun Vujica [word indistinct] democrat, asked the Croatian authorities to initiate the process of a continuing secession. Liberal Drazen Budisa demanded the internationalization of the Croatian question through the United Nations and the Security Council. Savka Dabcevic of the National Party said that any move by the Army would represent occupation of Croatia. Ivica Racan of the Party of Democratic Changes said that the Federal Defense Secretariat's announcement of two days ago represents a step toward the independence of the Yugoslav Army.

Today, the most important things for Croatia are happening outside the Assembly and outside Zagreb, so that even the statements by well-known personalities in social and political life lack any particularly interesting points. The expectations of the announced news conference that Franjo Tudjman is going to hold upon his arrival from Belgrade have eclipsed even the adoption of the Constitutional Law. What is involved are powers given to the Croatian Government in establishing what federal laws, regulations, and general documents [opsti akt] are not going to be implemented on the territory of Croatia if the Croatian government decides that they violate Croatia's territorial integrity or endanger its interests.

Speaking about the relations between the federal and republican legislation, Public Prosecutor Zeljko Olujic quoted the rule that one state may not establish laws in another state.

The point of convening Croatian Assembly's session over several days has been cleared up. This involves a provision in Roman law by which a state may not be attacked while its assembly is in session.

Disarmament Order Heard With 'Relief' in Knin

AU2601172191 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Zoran Trajic report]

[Text] We asked correspondent Zoran Trajic whether everything that has been happening concerning the SFRY Presidency's order on the disarmament of paramilitary and illegal formations and the decision to demobilize reserve police units has brought relief to the Knin region:

[Trajic] It is true that there have recently been many sleepless nights in the republic, as Croatian Radio and Television have already reported. I can tell you that this was certainly the case in Knin and the whole of the Serbian Autonomous Region.

President Tudjman's statement, which came about 0200 this morning was received with relief, especially the part that refers to the disarmament of reserve militia units, because, let us recall, the citizens of Knin returned their arms taken from the reserve militia units before the expiration of the first deadline. The arms were handed to the Yugoslav People's Army.

So far there have been no reports on the surrender of arms by reserve militia units in the ethnically mixed villages and those mainly populated by Croats.

Croatian Television last night refused to show Belgrade Television's special program on the acquisition of arms by the Croatian militia and the compromising role of certain leaders in this matter.

This is perhaps fortunate, because the citizens of Knin only found out this morning, following the soothing statement by the SFRY Presidency, what their fate was

going to be in the planned inter-ethnic clash. Citizens watched a recording of last night's program in a local department store this morning.

Serbian Assembly To Form in Croatia

LD2601191391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1741 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Dvor Na Uni, Jan 26 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian Democratic Party Jovan Raskovic said on Saturday that a Serbian assembly would shortly be founded in Croatia, giving Serbs in that republic their own organs of authority.

Raskovic said that one representative would be elected for every 5,000 Serbs and that the Serbian assembly in Croatia would include representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Addressing a crowd of several thousand people at a ceremony in the village of Segestin near Dvor Na Uni (republic of Croatia) commemorating the victims of the Ustasha terror in 1942, Raskovic said that those who wanted could leave Yugoslavia, but should not count on the Serbs from Croatia going with them.

They have been in Croatia for centuries and now have their autonomy which nobody can destroy any longer, Raskovic said.

The Serbian Orthodox bishop of Karlovac, Nikanor, together with a group of priests, held a commemmoration service at the tomb to the victims. He also laid the foundation stone for a new Serbian Orthodox church in the village.

Serb-Croat Talks Continue; Termed 'Controversial'

LD2501214791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2042 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Talks were held in Belgrade today between a Serbian delegation, led by Serbian Republic President Slobodan Milosevic and a Croatian delegation, led by Croatian Republic President Dr. Franjo Tudjman. The Serbian delegation included National Assembly President Dr. Slobodan Unkovic, Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic, prime minister elect of the new Serbian Government, and Serbian Executive Council President Dr. Stanko Radmilovic. The Croatian delegation included Assembly President Dr. Zarko Domljan, Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic, and SFRY Presidency Vice President Stjepan Mesic. The talks were also attended by Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the cabinet of the Croatian Republic president, and Goran Milinovic, head of the cabinet of the Serbian Republic president.

The statement stresses that the talks, though very controversial, were conducted in the spirit of openness referring to the questions of the future of Yugoslavia, as well as mutual relations between the two republics.

The two sides noted that relations between Serbia and Croatia are at the lowest level ever since the war and that major differences exist regarding ways of solving national questions, the questions of Yugoslavia's future, the Yugoslav Federation, its institutions, as well as the Yugoslav People's Army.

Sharing the stand on the great importance of Serbian-Croatian relations for the future of Yugoslavia in the present situation, the two delegations agreed to continue the working dialogue on seeking acceptable solutions.

Drnovsek Assesses Federal Presidency Meeting

AU2601173091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Radovan Pantelic report on Dr. Janez Drnovsek's comments on SFRY Presidency session news conference in Ljubljana 25 January—live or recorded]

[Pantelic] Yesterday's long, tense, and at times stormy [konfliktno] meeting in the SFRY Presidency had an encouraging and successful end, Dr. Janez Drnovsek assessed. It resulted in the crisis being stopped at the last minute. The points of disagreement were in interpretations of the Presidency's statement on disarmament.

According to some, it has only offered the pardoning of persons who had returned arms, while interpretations on the other side say it gave greater powers to the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in the whole problem.

According to Dr. Drnovsek, during the evening part of the session, to which the Croatian leadership, led by Franjo Tudjman, had been invited—while Ante Markovic and Veljko Kadijevic were already present at the session—the situation was turned around and a way out was found.

In Dr. Janez Drnovsek's view, the way out is as follows: an agreement was reached to stop confrontations and continue dialogue and a peaceful resolution of the difficult situation. The JNA recognizes the legitimacy of the Croatian leadership, because it is in everyone's interest that conflict situations are resolved in a peaceful way. No consideration is being given to any kind of putsch. Tensions have been eliminated and problems with the acquisition of arms will be resolved (?provisionally) by the JNA and the Croatian authorities.

In Drnovsek's opinion, Slovenia's position has not changed after the first round of inter-republican talks. It is not insisting on Yugoslavia's disintegration but it is defending its own rights and interests. In this context, at a request from journalists to interpret Milan Kucan's statement on respect for the right of the Serbian people to live in one state, Drnovsek said that this right does not have to be in conflict with the rights of other peoples, and added that the statement should be understood as a way to create tolerance and conditions for dialogue.

Otherwise, this statement has provoked both official and unofficial comments. It is nevertheless evident that political tension here is diminishing and it is believed that there will be a peaceful way out of the political crisis through dialogue above all.

Serbs Harrassed; Reportedly Fleeing Hercegovina

AU2501204491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Bosko Santic report]

[Text] Interethnic relations in Hercegovina have reached a boiling point; fear and anxiety are felt everywhere. The piece of news that during the last two nights 60 Serbian women and children from villages around Metkovic fled to Nevesinje has upset the entire region. There are also some Croatian and Muslim women married to Serbs among those who sought protection and shelter in Serbian homes in eastern Hercegovina. They say that harassment in their villages of Glusci, Mihalj, Klemena, and Klada, near Metkovic, began long ago. At first there were only small provocations, but then Serb-owned coffee houses started being demolished. The following slogans were heard: Hang the Serbs, and We will drink Serb blood; shots were fired at walls of Serbian houses during the Orthodox Christmas.

A committee for the reception of the Serb refugees from Croatia has been immediately set up in Nevesinje. A telegram was sent from a big protest meeting to the presidencies of SFRY, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Serbia, as well as to the federal and republican secretaries for national defense and the chief of the general staff. The telegram stated that the Croatian population in western Hercegovina is being armed more and more, that weapons are distributed en masse from trucks and trailers, and that the Serbian population is fleeing from these regions faced with submachine guns and "Kalashnikovs".

We energetically demand that the SFRY Presidency Order on disarmament be implemented as soon as possible. If it is not, we bear no responsibility for undesired consequences that may ensue, it is pointed out at the end of the telegram signed by the representatives of the Serbian people from the communes of Nevesinje, Gacko, Trebinje, Bileca, Ljubinje, and Mostar.

Disagreements Appear in Serbian Democratic Party

AU2501180891 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 91 p 8

[Text] The disagreements in the leadership of the Democratic Party [DC], which have lasted for months, have ended with a split in the party; Kosta Cavoski, Nikola Milosevic, Aleksandar Petrovic, Vladan Vasilijevic, Milan Bozic, and Ljubomir Jocic, all founding members of the DC, have decided to leave it.

In the statement that the group sent to the party's Main Committee and to the public, they explain the group's move with the assessment that "by taking part in the elections on an unequal footing and under irregular conditions, the DC gave legitimacy to the existing communist government."

Now the already ex-democrats are pointing out that, at the Main Committee's meeting on 13 January, instead of facing responsibility for the electoral debacle and accounting for it, the leaders of the DC tried to put all the blame on Cavoski, Milosevic, and other signatories of the appeal in which they called upon the Serbian opposition to boycott the elections.

"The fact that the leaders of the DC are not capable of facing up to their own responsibility results from the party having become more leader-dominated and authoritarian, and from decisions being made in an oligarchic rather than a democratic way," the statement said.

Jansa Comments on Crisis, Army Intervention

AU2501220191 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Interview with Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa by Gerhard Seifried; place and date not given—recorded; Jansa speaks in Slovene with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Announcer] The nervousness in Slovenia is increasing. People fear that an armed conflict in Croatia might spread to Slovenia.

Slovenian Defense Minister Janez Jansa said in an interview by Gerhard Seifried:

[Jansa] We have taken measures that are really necessary. They are mainly implemented by the police and the internal security forces. The territorial defense has not drafted any units. Because of our experience and practice, however, we are able to mobilize several tens of thousands of men.

[Seifried] Do you expect an Army operation in Slovenia?

[Jansa] An alert was sounded in many units of the Yugoslav People's Army on the territory of Slovenia, Croatia, and elsewhere yesterday and the alert stage is higher than ever before. Realistically, the danger that a conflict will break out in Croatia is far greater than in Slovenia. I think of the increased nationalist contrasts between Serbia and Croatia, that is, between Croatia and the Serbian attempts to establish a separate state in the area around Knin.

At any rate, we are not so naive as to believe that a conflict that breaks out would be only limited to Croatia. For this reason, we view the situation very seriously. A military intervention will definitely not be successful. It would at best be the attempt to disentagle the Yugoslav crisis in a sad way.

Bosnian, Slovene Leaders Meet Press on Talks

LD2701002191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Examining basic questions on regulating the concept of the future Yugoslav community is how to avoid hegemony while agreeing on the recognition of the sovereignty of republics. If we solve this, we will solve all other unclear issues, through talks, patiently and with mutual respect, it was stated today after talks between Slovene and Bosnia-Hercegovina delegations, at the news conference given by Milan Kucan and Alija Izetbegovic. Whether anyone has any aspiration toward hegemony will soon be known soon, when one of several joint functions of a future Yugoslavia is outlined. Izetbegovic reiterated that there were several reasons for integration, because disintegration is undertaken [poduzima] only as a last resort. Kucan said that a broad range of inter-republican talks was generally acceptable proof of the sovereignty of all the present states, considering the right of self-determination, including the right to secession. Kucan said it was logical that Slovenia recognized the right of Serbian people to live together, explaining it by a counterquestion: Who could possibly be against such a wish of a nation? Kucan repeated that the order of the SFRY Presidency did not refer to the Slovene Republic because all decisions on the arming of legal units had been passed on the basis of the Slovene and federal constitutions and laws.

Bosnian Croat Leader Against Army Interference

AU2701163891 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 91 p 5

[M. Lucic report: "Setting Conditions for Sovereignty"]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo—The Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Hercegovina is against any interference by the Yugoslav People's Army in the resolution of the political crisis in Yugoslavia. Any pressure by the Army during the talks that have begun on the future of a new Yugoslavia would also be inappropriate. The Army should withdraw to its barracks and act within the framework of its powers. This was stated yesterday by Stjepan Kljujic, leader of the Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Hercegovina, at a news conference given by this party.

Speaking about the SFRY Presidency's order on disarmament, Kljujic said that he did not believe that everything was in the best possible state in this republic, mentioning that people in Ozren were arming themselves, while the people in Sipovo had not returned their arms. Otherwise, Kljujic thought that all those who were in possession of arms, and even those with permits, were a latent danger and should have a medical examination every three months. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro Issue Appeal

LD2501185591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—The leaderships of the Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro, which met in Sarajevo today, appealed for the problems in Yugoslavia to be resolved in a democratic manner and on the basis of full respect for the existing laws.

After holding talks on the country's future, Presidency Presidents Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Momir Bulatovic of Montenegro told newsmen that the purpose of the appeal was to ease political tensions and ensure more normal conditions for the talks on Yugoslavia's fate.

Izetbegovic and Bulatovic said that a high degree of agreement existed between the leaderships of the two republics [words indistinct] for the survival of the Yugoslav state [words indistinct].

Izetbegovic and Bulatovic believe that no major [words indistinct] solution of the Yugoslav crisis should be expected to be made at the session of the Yugoslav State Presidency on January 28, Monday, which will be attended also by the presidents of the Yugoslav republics. The presidents of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro pointed out that the January 28 session would be an opportunity for contacts between the republic delegations, and expressed the opinion that those contacts would no doubt be resumed.

Answering a question, Bulatovic said that Montenegro recognized the full sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic said that "there can be no Yugoslavia without Croatia and Slovenia." However, when newsmen insisted that he say whether Yugoslavia would survive if only Slovenia was to secede, Izetbegovic replied affirmatively.

Bosnia, Slovenia Agree Future Republican Ties

LD2601212391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1819 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Sarajevo, January 26 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Slovenia on Saturday agreed that the Yugoslav crisis and the future relations between republics should be solved "exclusively in a peaceful and democratic manner", departing from the rights of nations to self-determination.

The right to self-determination must not be carried out at the expense of other nations, i.e., republics, it is set out in an announcement from the talks on Saturday between the two delegations in Sarajevo.

Slovenian President Milan Kucan and Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, however, set out differing stands as regards the character of the future Yugoslav community.

Kucan, according to the announcement, said expressly that, for Slovenia, only an alliance of sovereign, independent states was acceptable. Izetbegovic, for his part, said that Bosnia-Hercegovina urged the "Yugoslav community as an international legal subject." The announcement did not elaborate on this.

Setting out that "any use of force, i.e., the existence of threats, not only prevented, but can only serve to prolong and deepen the Yugoslav crisis with grave and tragic outcome," the two delegations upheld the efforts of the federal state Presidency to calm the situation in the country.

Macedonia Adopts Sovereignty Declaration

LD2501224891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Skopje, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Delegates of the Macedonian Assembly unanimously adopted the declaration on Macedonia's sovereignty and a platform on Yugoslavia's future system. At today's session they also elected the vice-presidents of the Macedonian assembly: Dragi Arsov, Dzeladin Murati, Tito Petkovski, and Kiro Popovski.

In the declaration on Macedonia's sovereignty it is pointed out that republican sovereignty is expressed in keeping with the constitutional orientations on the independence and territorial integrity of the Macedonian state, as well as with the right of the Macedonian people to self-determination, including the right to secession. It is precisely this—we read in the platform on the future system in Yugoslavia—that constitutes Macedonia's departure point for talks on the future system in Yugoslavia, because it insists on full equality of republics in the creation of a new agreement.

Compared to the already proposed models of the country's future system—it is stated in the platform—the only solutions acceptable for Macedonia are those that can insure stable economic, political, national, and cultural development of all nations living in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Social Democrat Maliqi on Dialogue

AU2801105091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 91 p 6

[Interview with Shklezen Maliqi, president of the Social Democratic Party of Kosovo, by Milos Antic; place and date not given: "A Partner for Dialogue Is Being Sought"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Antic] In the last few days, at least according to what has been stated by some leaders of the Albanian opposition parties in Kosovo and Metohija, there have been increasing warnings to the effect that "if things continue as they are, the worst will happen." Even some kind of preparation for an "armed struggle" was announced (by the Republican Party of Albanians in Pec).

[Maliqi] A state of war-like provocations has prevailed in Kosovo for quite a long time and particularly since the Spring of 1990, but we Albanians have not accepted the challenge to war. The whole strategy of the parties that are rallied together in the Kosovo Democratic Forum is based on the rejection of war and the search for political means to resolve the Kosovo crisis. This strategy has been shown to be successful in many respects, primarily because we have enjoyed the vast trust of the people and managed to articulate their interests and avoid bloodshed. On the other hand, it has been doomed to failure because we have not had a political partner either in the Serbian regime or in the Serbian opposition or even in the federation. Asymmetry has been created: They did not have partners to conduct a war and we did not have partners for dialogue. As the situation in Kosovo becomes more serious, the extremists among the Albanians are condemning the strategy of peaceful resistance and telling us: "See where your political struggle has led us!" Unfortunately the belligerent mood has been increasing, particularly since Milosevic's victory at the elections. I believe that the advantages of the policy of avoiding an armed struggle have not yet been exhausted, although I am not discounting the possibility of small armed groups of impatient Albanians appearing who think that we are gradually surrendering Kosovo and that we are acting like sheep being led to the slaughter. [passage omitted]

[Antic] Do you think it can be demanded that Serbia withdraws its measures and laws regarding Kosovo without anything changing beforehand regarding the declaration and the Kacanik constitution?

[Maliqi] I will be frank, in the field of realpolitik, it is difficult to imagine that there will be any changes regarding these issues. This is primarily because negotiations have already begun on the future of Yugoslavia, and Serbia does not intend to give up its fait accompli policy and go back to the 1974 Constitution. In this sense, pressure from outside has diminished because it suits all negotiators to ignore the 1974 Constitution. Regarding the demand for the Kosovo Assembly and government to be revived, this is more of a principle because the Kosovo opposition movement thinks that legal demands must be made first of all, while this is possible and the 1974 Constitution and the Federal Assembly with the Chamber of Republics and Provinces are still formally in force. Now that negotiations have begun, however, and the existing constitution has actually been suspended, I think that our negotiating stand can and must be expressed in another way. It does not matter that we have been excluded from negotiations. I think that a Kosovo plebiscite will be held at some point. [passage omitted]

[Antic] Rumors are spreading about a new disunity among the Albanian opposition parties in Kosovo and even about a conflict in leaders' ambitions.

[Maliqi] It is normal for there to be disagreements and conceptual differences among different parties, even over the strategic issues of providing the equality of Kosovo. These are not so dramatic. It would be a great luxury for us if there were to be a split now. There have been disagreements about the forms of cooperation among parties and about the Democratic Forum, but these are now being surmounted. Regarding differences between Rugova and Qosja, these are also normal. Rugova is the most prominent among us and the one most deeply involved in politics and therefore the one who is most frequently criticized. I do not know what Qosja's ambitions are. He announced before that he will not be directly involved in politics. Perhaps he has now changed his mind. He is a strong personality, he has vast influence, but I do not like his authoritarian nature. I am more appreciative of Rugova's flexibility and the fact that he always keeps the door open for other options without, however, making concessions regarding the main point. This is probably a matter of personal taste. [passage omitted]

[Antic] You were quite "hard" when you said that a belligerent mood was increasing among Albanians, when you hinted at armed groups, and when you spoke about the necessity of war....

[Maliqi] I would like this to be different but this is the truth. I told the truth in the way that I see and experience it.